Early New England Schools

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Walter Herbert Small, William Holden Eddy

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EARLY
NEW ENGLAND SCHOOLS

BY

WALTER HERBERT SMALL, A.M.

LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

BOSTON AND LONDON
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1914

DEDICATED TO
DR. ALBERT F. BLAISDELL
FRIEND AND TEACHER OF MY STUDENT DAYS

FOREWORD

The object of this book is not so much to furnish the author's opinions and conclusions, as to furnish the material from which the reader may form his own opinions and conclusions. With this in view, much is given directly from the old records, retaining the quaint phraseology and construction but modernizing the spelling for greater ease in reading.

The order is that of the logical development of the schools through their various transition periods, with such excerpts from the laws as show the growth in legal power.

The motive for the work lies in the following statement in Mr. George H. Martin's preface to his book, "The Evolution of the Massachusetts School System." He says, "This book is not a history . . ., for such a work the materials are ample and only await the approach of some one who has time and the inclination to use them."

The curiosity aroused by that statement led to the first record, that to the second, until curiosity became a disease. However, this is not a history, but rather the materials out of which history may be made.

WALTER HERBERT SMALL

NOTE

Of the following work, Mr. Small left fully completed at his death Chapters I–XII, inclusive. Chapter XIX was an address delivered before an audience of teachers. The remaining chapters were arranged by the editor from the references collected and classified by Mr. Small, coupled with outlines and memoranda of varying degrees of fullness. The material for certain chapters projected by him was found to be too meager, and has been somewhat rearranged and combined with other subjects. The effort to preserve, as far as possible, the author's own words has doubtless produced an occasional abruptness, which would have disappeared under his own revision, but the editor has been unwilling to make any changes that were not absolutely necessary. He has felt that those who knew Mr. Small and were honored with his friendship would prefer his own vigorous, if unfinished, utterances to the smoother sentences of a reviser.

WILLIAM HOLDEN EDDY

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

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EARLY NEW ENGLAND SCHOOLS

I

THE NEW ENGLAND GRAMMAR SCHOOL

(1635–1700)

In studying the Latin grammar school of New England previous to 1700, only a portion of the present territory really comes under consideration. Early action relative to schools depended much on the character of the settlers, the purpose of their coming, their previous education, the controlling spirit of the leaders, and somewhat on their wealth and surroundings. The initial spirit of it all was in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and, when some of the people from around Boston migrated to Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield and founded the Connecticut Colony, the spirit went with them. The same spirit is found in the New Haven Colony; it spread to the Plymouth Colony, and later its reflection fell upon New Hampshire, which was under Massachusetts law until 1680. The founders of Rhode Island wanted nothing in common with the people who banished them, not even their education; and the status of the Maine settlers is found in this remark of Winthrop's: "They ran a different course from us both in their ministry and in their civil administration." Vermont was not settled.

The study really narrows to the consideration of four confederations — the two in Massachusetts, which united in 1692; and the two in Connecticut, which united in 1665. The

essence of the Massachusetts law of 1647 was embodied in the Connecticut code of 1650, the New Haven code of 1656, the Plymouth law of 1670, and was taken practically entire by New Hampshire in 1680. These vary somewhat, but only in unimportant details. Upon the union of these four confederations into two colonies, the 1647 law prevailed for the larger Massachusetts, and the 1650 code for the larger Connecticut.

In the beginning the most strenuous efforts were exerted at Boston and New Haven under the leadership of four men — Cotton and Eliot at the first, Davenport and Eaton at the second. Without the Reverend John Cotton, New England might not have had the grammar school at all, certainly not at so early a period. Arriving in 1633, in two years he influenced Boston to cast that memorable vote of entreaty to Brother Philemon Pormont to undertake the "teaching and nourturing of children among us." The school was begun the next year under Mr. Daniel Maude. Harvard College was founded two years later. Mr. Cotton was upon the working committee, and from that time until his death, in 1652, his voice and influence were directed toward education.

The Reverend John Eliot, of Roxbury, was an able exponent of the same views. Mather, in his "Magnalia," says of him: "A grammar school he would always have upon the place, whatever it cost him: and he importuned all other places to have the like. I cannot forget the ardor with which I even heard him pray, in a synod of these churches which met at Boston, to consider 'how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented.' I say with what fervor he uttered an expression to this purpose: 'Lord, for schools everywhere among us. O that our schools may flourish. That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives. That before we die we may see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the country.' God so blessed his endeavors, that

Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town; and the issue of it has been one thing which has made me almost put the title of Schola Illustris upon that little nursery: that is, 'That Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the college and then for the public, than any town of its bigness, or if I mistake not, of twice its bigness, in all New England.'"

The enthusiasm of these men and the influence of the college were felt in the settlements clustered near the coast of Massachusetts Bay, and the several schools were founded in the following order.

Massachusetts Bay Colony

The Boston Latin School, whose history has been too frequently written to need extensive narration here, was begun in 1635 or 1636. There is nothing in the Boston records to show that Mr. Pormont ever accepted service under the vote already alluded to, but the next year, 1636, the wealthier inhabitants met and subscribed funds "towards the maintenance of a free schoolmaster for the youth with us." There were forty-five contributors to this fund, and the list was headed by "the Gov. Mr. Henry Vane, Esq. 10 pounds." In 1637 the town voted, "also that Mr. Daniel Maude, schoolmaster, shall have a garden-plot next unto Stephen Kinsley's house-plot, upon like condition of building thereon if need be." The town, by land rentals, soon took upon itself the support of the school. In 1665 it had grown sufficiently large to require an assistant, and one was hired "to assist Mr. Woodmansey in the grammar school and teach children to write." In 1670 Mr. Ezekiel Cheever began his long service with the school.

Because of this long service, the following records are interesting. At a meeting at the house of Governor Richard Bellingham, October 22, 1670, "it was ordered and agreed that Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Hinksman

should be at the Governor's house that day seven night, to treat with them concerning the free school."

At a meeting of the selectmen at the governor's house on the twenty-ninth, "it was agreed and ordered that Mr. Ezekiel Cheever should be called to and installed in the free school as headmaster thereof, which he being then present, accepted of: likewise that Mr. Thompson should be invited to be assistant to Mr. Ezekiel Cheever in his work in the school, which Mr. Thompson being present, desired time to consider and to give his answer; and upon the 3rd day of January, gave his answer to Major Gen. Leveret in the negative, he having had and accepted of a call to Charlestown."

On November 6 the selectmen, "being met, repaired to the school and sent for Mr. Thompson who, when he came, declared his removal to Charlestown, and resigned up the possession of the school and the schoolhouse to the Gov. who delivered the key and possession of the school to Mr. Ezekiel Cheever as the sole master thereof. And it was further agreed that the said Mr. Cheever should be allowed 60 pounds per annum for his services in the school, out of the town's rates and rents that belong to the school, and the possession and use of the schoolhouse."

This was the only school in Boston for nearly half a century, and its chief work was to fit boys for Harvard College. Allusions to it are frequent in the town records.

The school at Charlestown was begun in 1636. Though it is not mentioned as a grammar school, there is every reason to believe it was one, even at the outset. It certainly was a grammar school in 1661 when Ezekiel Cheever became master, and in 1671 the second article of agreement with Benjamin Thompson read, "That he shall prepare such youth as are capable of it for the college, with learning answerable."

When Salem voted the Reverend John Fiske in as an inhabitant in 1637, there was little thought in the minds of the voters that from that act Salem would have one of the oldest

schools in New England. Such is the recorded fact, however, and to-day she points with pride to the tablet on her old Latin school building: "Founded in the Year 1637." Few early votes relative to the school are recorded, but they are sufficient to show its continuous existence. In 1670 it was voted that "the selectmen shall take care to provide a grammar schoolmaster," and one was engaged for twenty pounds. In 1677 the subjects of instruction are given as English, Latin, and Greek, good manners, and the principles of Christian religion. These were taught the scholars "so as to fit them for the university, if desired and they are capable." In 1712 a committee was chosen to select a teacher for the Latin school, and from this point allusions to the school are frequent.

The year 1639 witnessed Dorchester's famous agreement whereby a yearly rental of twenty pounds was placed on Thompson's island, "to be paid to such a schoolmaster as shall undertake to teach English, Latin, and other tongues, and also write." Later in the year, the Reverend Thomas Waterhouse was elected schoolmaster.

In "New England's First Fruits" appears this sentence: "And by the side of the college, a fair grammar school for the training up of young scholars and fitting of them for academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the college: of this school, Master Corlett is the master who has very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity, and painfulness in teaching and education of the youth under him."

The exact date of the beginning of the Cambridge school is not known, but in 1643 Mr. Elijah Corlett had been there long enough to establish a reputation for "skill and faithfulness." The first mention of the school in the town records is this: "September 13, 1648; it was agreed at a meeting of the whole town, that there should be land sold of the common for the gratifying of Mr. Corlett for his pains in

keeping a school in the town, the sum of 10 pounds, if it can be attained, provided it shall not prejudice the cow common." This ten pounds, which was obtained the following spring, was recorded as a "gratuity from the town." In 1680 he was still there, though the report to the county court showed "his scholars are in number nine at present."

In the year 1645 the inhabitants of Roxbury founded their grammar school "in consideration of their religious care of posterity," and because they recognized "how necessary the education of their children in literature will be, to fit them for public service, both in church and commonwealth, in succeeding ages." This was and is an endowed school. In 1666 the town was invited to join the proprietors in its support and extension, but refused. "The free school could not receive all the children, yet the town would neither contribute to its support nor propose any other plan."

There are strong indications that Braintree founded a school about the same time as Roxbury, though there is no direct evidence of this fact in the records until 1735. In that year, a petition was sent to the General Court asking for certain grants; among them is this: "And likewise grant us something gratis for our having kept a free Latin school for about ninety years."

These seven schools were the feeders in Massachusetts to Harvard College. They were qualified to meet the requirements for admission, which were not excessive: "When any scholar is able to read Tully or such classical author, extempore, and speak true Latin in verse and prose, and decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, then they may be admitted into college, nor shall any claim admission before such qualifications."

Other inducement than persuasion was needed, and the law of 1647 was enacted, making it obligatory upon towns of one hundred families to maintain a grammar school, "the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may

be fitted for the university." To stimulate scholastic activity, a penalty of five pounds was affixed for all such towns not having such a school.

There is no way of ascertaining how many towns were affected by this law; certainly there was no rapid increase in grammar schools, and the records of many towns show no desire to establish such schools until they had reached the full legal standard of one hundred families; ninety-nine were not enough.

The extreme brevity of the ancient record makes it exceedingly difficult in many cases to differentiate the kind of school established. As far as may be judged, however, the order of schools following the law seems to be this:

In 1650 Watertown elected Richard Norcross schoolmaster, "for the teaching of children to read and write, and so much of Latin according to the order of the Court"; and the next year he was reëngaged to instruct "in English, writing or Latin according to the capacity of the persons." The fee for Latin was fixed at fourpence per week. Mr. Norcross remained in the service for twenty-five years, when there was a desire to obtain a schoolmaster "as cheap as they can." But in 1679 Mr. Norcross was again sought and, to save expense, the selectmen made this agreement with him: "To keep the school at the schoolhouse for the year following, and to begin the 9th of April, 1679, and to teach both Latin and English scholars, so many as may be sent unto him from the inhabitants, and once a week to teach them the catechism; only in the months of May, June, July and August, he is to teach only Latin scholars and writers, and them at his own house, and there to afford them all needful help, and the other eight months at the schoolhouse, both Latin and English scholars, for which the selectmen agree that he shall have 20 pounds."

The people complained of the agreement, so the school was kept at the schoolhouse the whole year, and Mr. Norcross

received twenty-five pounds. The next year the school was made an English school, but the court ordered the town to provide a grammar school, and Richard Norcross was again engaged at a salary of twenty-five pounds and the fees of the Latin scholars. In 1690 repeated complaints were made to the county court of the deficiency of schools in Watertown, and in 1696 "the selectmen applied to Mr. Edward Goddard to teach school, to whom he replied that if they would repair the schoolhouse and give him 20 pounds, he would come; but the town did not accept the terms and the town was fined for not having a school."

Ipswich made an attempt to establish one of the very early grammar schools; the result is found in this record of 1636: "A grammar school is set up but does not succeed." Mr. Lionel Chute was the master. Some years later, "after several overtures and endeavors among the inhabitants of said Ipswich, for settling a grammar school in that place," Robert Payne offered to "erect an edifice for such a purpose, provided it might be put into the hands of certain discreet and faithful persons of the said town and their successors, which he himself should nominate, to be ordered and managed by them as feoffees in trust for that end, and their successors forever," provided also that the town or private inhabitants would furnish funds for the maintenance of a schoolmaster. In 1650 the town made a grant of land for that purpose. In 1651 all the feoffees were empowered "to receive all such sums of money as have and shall be given towards the building or maintaining a grammar school and schoolmaster, and to disburse and dispose such sums as are given to provide a schoolhouse and schoolmaster's house, either in building or purchasing the said house, with all convenient speed; and such sums of money, parcels of land, rents or annuities as are or shall be given towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster, they shall receive and dispose of to the schoolmaster that they shall call and choose to that

office from time to time towards his maintenance, which they shall have power to enlarge by appointing from year to year, what each scholar shall yearly or quarterly pay or proportionably. Who shall also have full power to regulate all matters concerning the schoolmaster and scholars as in their wisdom they think meet from time to time, who shall also consider the best way to make provision for teaching to write and cast accounts."

Payne did all this "for several good causes and considerations him thereunto moving, especially for the increase of learning in the next generation." He gave his house and two acres of land for the use of the schoolmaster; other endowments followed, and in 1651 the town made a grant of land for this second grammar school. This was the school of which Mr. Ezekiel Cheever was master for ten years and made "famous throughout the land."

It is exceedingly difficult to determine with certainty what kind of school was established in Dedham. It began in 1644, but it was not until 1653, when, among other things, the master agreed to teach the "Accidence," that good evidence exists of its being a grammar school. Inferential evidence might be drawn from the fact that the salary all these years was twenty pounds, and as there was usually a marked difference between the salary of an English and that of a Latin master, this regular salary might indicate a continuous grammar school. Future votes, however, show that the school was intermittent in grade, and that able men were not always in charge.

In 1663 the master agreed to teach "the Latin tongue so far as he can and to try for one quarter of a year how he may suit with the town." There were further interruptions. Grammar was again mentioned in 1667. There was difficulty in obtaining schoolmasters, but in 1685 an agreement was made with Mr. Holbrook "to keep the school and to teach such children as come, to read and write both English and

Latin according to his ability and their capacities." In 1691 the town was presented for not having a grammar school. During all these years the salary varied between ten pounds and thirty pounds. It seems fair, then, to conclude that this school was not a grammar school until the "Accidence" is mentioned in 1653.

The 1647 law seems not to have had any far-reaching effect. Here are but three schools founded immediately after its passage. Newbury, in 1658, according to the court records, "upon their presentment for want of a Latin school, is to pay 5 pounds to Ipswich Latin school, unless they by the next court provide a Latin schoolmaster according to law." There is no town record to show what was done, and the grammar school does not appear for nearly a generation later. In 1687 a committee "agreed with Mr. Seth Shove to be the Latin schoolmaster for the town of Newbury for the present year." In 1691 Latin scholars paid sixpence per week. The school then was a "moving" school, kept in three parts of the town. In 1696 the schoolmaster was offered "30 pounds in country pay . . ., provided he demand but four pence per week for Latin scholars, and teach the town's children to read, write and cipher without pay." There are many votes relative to the grammar school after this.

A Hingham contract of 1670 says: "Henry Smith engageth that with care and diligence he will teach and instruct, until a year be expired, in Latin, Greek, and English, in writing and arithmetic." This grammar school was probably continued, though in 1690 it was voted "that the selectmen of the town shall hire a schoolmaster as cheap as they can get one, provided they shall hire a single man and not a man that have a family." At this time the town was paying taxes in milk pails. Various votes concerning the grammar school were passed during the next hundred years.

Woburn made two attempts to establish a grammar school but without any success. In 1685 the selectmen appointed

Mr. Samuel Carter, a Harvard graduate, "to keep a grammar school that year with a salary of 5 pounds per annum." There were no pupils. The following year he was reappointed, but was promised only thirty shillings unless scholars came, when he should have five pounds. There were again no pupils, and Mr. Carter probably holds the unique place of being the only grammar schoolmaster who ever received two years' salary, meager though it was, for doing nothing. Another attempt was made in 1694, when Mr. Jabez Fox was engaged "to teach and instruct any children belonging to this town of Woburn, to write and in the grammar, all and so many as shall be sent in to him now for one year ensuing." Five years later he was engaged "to keep school a year for instruction in grammar alone." No compensation is mentioned for either of these years, nor is there any record that he received any. He seems to have been a master for convenience, provided within the letter of the law that the town might escape the penalty for not having a grammar school.

Shattuck claims that Concord had a grammar school previous to 1680, but a report to the county court at Cambridge that year says, "As for grammar scholars we have none except some of honored Mr. Peter Buckley's and some of Rev. Mr. Esterbrook's whom he himself educates." This casts doubt upon the existence of a grammar school, and it is known that in the spring of 1665 the town was complained of for "not having a Latin schoolmaster," and that similar complaints were made for the next four or five years. There was no schoolhouse until Captain Timothy Wheeler gave one in 1687. The school must have been established soon after this, for in 1692 a committee was appointed to petition the general court "to ease us in the law relating to the grammar schoolmaster." The school was continued, however, for a few years later the pupils were charged a tuition fee of fourpence per week.

The third clause of the agreement with the second schoolmaster at Northampton in 1667 was "six pence per week to learn the 'Accidence,' writing, casting accounts." But there was so much difficulty afterwards in obtaining masters that the Ipswich record almost might be repeated here, "Set up but did not succeed." In 1668 the school was given permanency by this vote: "The town considering of the need of a schoolmaster that should be able to instruct the children and youth in learning, and so be able to instruct such children as their parents desire to bring up to learning to fit them for the college, that so they may be fit for the service of God in the church or otherwise in the public, voted to give 20 pounds out of the town's stock, this to be beside what may be raised on the scholars which shall come to be taught by him, and ordered the selectmen now to be chosen to procure one that may be suitable for the service above expressed for the year ensuing."

Five years later the town voted that it should be made a free grammar school for twenty years, and the master's salary was made forty pounds, raised by rate upon the inhabitants. This was strongly opposed by influential men, but at the end of the twenty years the town again voted to "maintain a grammar school in the town for twenty years next coming, and to be paid by the town in the same kind and portion other taxes are paid, and that the selectmen for the time being annually take care to hire a schoolmaster the best way and manner they can, and this act to continue till the town shall for cause recede from it."

Hadley received three hundred eight pounds out of the Hopkins legacy for grammar schools, and in 1667 this record was made: "The town have granted to and for the use of a grammar school in this town of Hadley and to be and remain perpetually to and for the use of said school, the two little meadows." In 1681 a committee was appointed "to get a schoolmaster to teach Latin and English." Tuition

rates were fixed at twenty shillings a year for Latin scholars and sixteen shillings for English. The school is frequently mentioned from this time on. In 1743 Josiah Pierce, a Harvard graduate, became master, "to instruct in reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin and Greek." He was master of the school for eighteen years.

In Lynn, in 1700, the selectmen chose the Reverend Mr. Shepherd "to keep a grammar school," for which thirty pounds were voted the next year. As Mr. Shepherd, the minister, had also been the schoolmaster almost continuously since 1687, it is fair to assume that this vote does not mark the beginning of the grammar school, but rather that it had always been such a school during Mr. Shepherd's term of service. In 1702 the grammar master was allowed forty pounds, and Latin pupils were charged sixpence per week.

Marblehead, in 1698, had as schoolmaster Josiah Cotton, a Harvard graduate, who soon entered the ministry, but returned and taught another half year. In his diary he says: "Calling at Marblehead and they remaining still destitute of a schoolmaster, I agreed with them again, upon the advancement of my salary from the town, under the former regulation for particular scholars, for they would not make it a free school, and tarried half a year longer in the school, and desire to acknowledge it as a favor that my service therein as well as before was acceptable and successful. The people there being generally if not universally inclined to give their children common learning, though scholars rise but thin amongst them. There was but one that went from thence whilst I kept school, to the college. . . . There was another designed, but death put an end to the design." This is merely circumstantial evidence of a grammar school; it probably cleared the legal demands but lacked popularity and strength.

Springfield doubtless had an intermittent grammar school previous to 1690, for in 1693 it is recorded: "The inhabitants

of Longmeadow desiring to get a schoolmaster to teach their children to read and write, and so to be exempt from paying to any such schoolmaster in the town, it was voted in the affirmative with this proviso, that they pay their proportions with the rest of the town on all occasions for a grammar school." In 1698 it was voted "that the General Court be petitioned unto that this town may be freed from keeping a grammar school and that they keep three or four schoolmasters or school dames to teach to read English," and two men "are desired to lay the circumstances before the honored court of this town."

Again in 1700: "Whereas there was a writing presented to the town that the grammar school might be kept seven months in the year on the west side of the river and at the long meadow; and the town plat to have it five months, the town voted they would condescend so far as that those on the west side of the river and long meadow should have him six months, and the town plat five months for this year only." There is proof that the school was still kept in 1708, for a man was convicted of selling liquor illegally and was fined forty shillings, to be paid to the grammar school in Springfield. The school was kept for succeeding years, as frequent allusions to the different masters are made in the records. In 1734 it was voted "to appoint some suitable person to prefer a petition to the General Assembly to obtain a grant of some land for the support of a grammar school."

Plymouth Colony

In the Plymouth Colony no movement was made toward this form of education until the law of 1670, "granting all such profits as may or shall accrue annually to the colony from fishing with nets or seines at Cape Cod for mackerel, bass or herring, to be improved for and towards a free school in some town in this jurisdiction, for the training up of youth

in literature for the good and benefit of posterity, provided a beginning were made within one year after the said grant." The rentals from this fishery amounted to thirty-three pounds a year.

The school was soon established at Plymouth, for the court records say: "Within the time limited there hath been a beginning made at Plymouth and hitherto continued by God's blessing with good success as upon examination may appear: and whereas the said town in general have given and granted whatsoever profits may anyway arise from or by the improvement of a considerable tract of upland and meadow belonging to the said town of Plymouth, lying at Agawam, Sepecan and places adjacent, for and towards the maintenance and upholding of the said school at Plymouth; as also since several of the town of Plymouth out of their good affections, have fully given out of their own estates, for the erecting or procuring a convenient schoolhouse, not only for the better accommodating of the scholars, but also for the schoolmaster to live and reside in." The court gladly takes this trust "to encourage and carry on the said well begun work at New Plymouth so long as God shall be pleased to afford any competency of means and convenient number of scholars."

This school probably did not become a grammar school until 1672, when Mr. Corlett from Harvard was elected master. In the same year the town voted unanimously, as referred to in the court record, that their land at "Sepecan, Agawam and places adjacent, the profits and benefits thereof, shall be improved and employed for and towards the maintenance of the free school now begun and erected at Plymouth." The new master devoted himself so zealously to Latin and Greek that the people became dissatisfied, and in 1674 voted that the children "be taught to write and cypher besides that which the country expects from the said school."

In 1677 a law was passed "that in whatsoever township in this government consisting of fifty families or upwards,

any meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar school," the town making a reasonable appropriation, "the profits arising from the Cape fisheries hereto ordered to maintain a grammar school in the Colony, shall be distributed to such towns as have such grammar schools, not exceeding 5 pounds per annum to any one town," unless there was some good reason why the court treasurer should grant more. Like the Massachusetts Bay law of thirty years previous, this law contained a penalty: "And further this Court orders that every such town as consists of seventy families or upwards, and hath not a grammar school therein, shall allow and pay unto the next town which hath such grammar school kept up amongst them the sum of 5 pounds per annum, in current merchantable pay."

This same year, 1677, Duxbury had a grammar school kept by Mr. Wiswall, the pastor, and the court order of 1681–1682, distributing the Cape money, awarded eight pounds "to Mr. Ichabod Wiswall's school at Duxbury." He continued the school until 1700.

In 1678 the court gave away ten pounds of the Cape money, five pounds to a widow "and the other 5 pounds to the schoolmaster at Rehoboth, in reference to the order of the court disposing such pay to be improved towards the keeping of a grammar school in each town of this jurisdiction, as in the said order is expressed." Although there is no mention of a grammar school in the town records at this time, there is circumstantial evidence in a record of 1680, where a schoolmaster was engaged at a salary of twenty pounds and diet, "besides what the Court doth allow in that case." This allusion to the Cape money, the amount of the salary, the award of five pounds in 1678, and another award of twelve pounds in 1681–1682, prove fairly well that a grammar school was founded in Rehoboth in 1678. There are later votes showing that the school was well established. In 1708 there was an agreement with a schoolmaster "to instruct

in reading, writing, *Grammar*, and arithmetic," and in 1712 the town appropriation was made with the understanding that the old part of the town "be obliged to maintain a grammar school."

In 1683 Bristol, afterwards set off to Rhode Island, voted "the selectmen to look out a grammar schoolmaster and use their endeavor to attain 5 pounds of the Cape money granted for such an end." There is no proof that such a school was begun, and Bristol was not named in the money distribution of 1683; yet in 1699 scholars paid fourpence a week for their Latin.

The last recorded distribution of the Cape money, in 1682–1683, awarded twelve pounds to Barnstable school, eight pounds to Duxbury, five pounds to Rehoboth, and three pounds to Taunton. Swansea was not mentioned, though in 1673 it was voted "to set up a school for rhetoric, arithmetic, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew." It is also worthy of note that Plymouth is not mentioned in any of these distributions. In 1699, however, the price for every scholar "that comes to write or cypher or to learn Latin" was fixed at threepence per week.

Thatcher, in his "History of Plymouth," says, "There was no grammar schoolmaster until 1699," evidently basing his view on the above vote; while Goodwin, in his "Pilgrim Republic," says: "In 1685, a Latin school was ordered in each of the new shire towns (Barnstable, Plymouth, and Bristol). Each pupil from those towns was to pay three pence a week for English branches and six pence when he comes to his grammar."

After 1699 there is no doubt as to the continuance of a grammar school in Plymouth. In 1705 the cost of Latin was made fourpence for scholars within one mile of the schoolhouse, twopence for those over one mile and within two miles, and free for those beyond the two-mile limit.

The Plymouth Colony law seems never to have been enforced through the courts as the Massachusetts Bay law was,

but after the union of the two colonies in 1692, when the Bay law of 1647 was extended over the engrafted colony, enforcement began. Taunton, in 1697, "then did make choice of Mr. Samuel Danforth to keep a grammar school here in Taunton this present year." This vote was caused by a presentment at court, in answer to which one of the selectmen, Philip King, appeared, "the said King producing in this court a letter from Mr. Danforth, the minister, signifying his approval of keeping a grammar school for this year."

The letter, in part, reads: "This may certify that a school has been kept in my house for above one whole year past for the instruction of children in reading, writing, and cyphering, to which many children came, and any might, and others would have come only the poverty of their parents, these hard times, prevented. As for any that were willing to learn Latin, etc., I have been willing to teach myself ever since I came to Taunton, but one yet came and him I taught as far as parents desired."

Sandwich had a schoolmaster in 1679, because his tax rate was abated "for his encouragement." Ten pounds was appropriated for salary in 1695 and the same amount in 1699, when he was called "the grammar schoolmaster." Though called by this name, he was to "teach reading, writing, and arithmetic." This fact, with the small salary, and the fact that in 1707 an appropriation of twenty pounds was made to obtain a master "to instruct the children in reading, writing, arithmetic, and Latin," with the additional proviso that "they who send shall pay 10 pounds more," proves the name a misnomer, and tends to exclude Sandwich from the list of towns having grammar schools previous to 1700.

Barnstable, which received a portion of the Cape money in 1683, and is credited by Goodwin with having a grammar school in 1685, does not mention any school in her records until 1713.

New Haven Colony

In Connecticut, as early as 1641, the New Haven Colony "ordered, that a free school shall be set up in this town, and our pastor, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates, shall consider what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the common stock of the town, and also what rules and orders are meet to be observed in and about the same. According to which order, 20 pounds a year was paid Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, the present schoolmaster, for two or three years, at first, but that not proving a competent maintenance, in August, 1644, it was enlarged to 30 pounds a year and so continueth."

Mr. Cheever was in the band which left Boston in 1638 to found New Haven, and Michael Wigglesworth records in his diary the fact that in 1639 he learned Latin at a school kept at Mr. Cheever's house. There is every evidence to show that this first school, of which he was master, was a Latin grammar school. Through church troubles he left the school in 1647, and the master who followed him became discouraged because "so many children came to him to be taught their letters and so few to study the classics." Troubles multiplied, until the town school was given up for a colony grammar school pursuant to the following enactments:

[1659] "The Court looking upon it as their great duty to establish some course that through the blessing of God, learning may be promoted in the jurisdiction as a means for the fitting of instruments for public service in church and commonwealth, did order that 40 pounds a year shall be paid by the treasurer for the furtherance of a grammar school for the use of the inhabitants of the jurisdiction, and that 8 pounds more shall be disbursed by him for the procuring of books of Mr. Blinman, such as shall be approved by Mr. Davenport and Mr. Pierson as suitable for the work. The appointing of the place where this school shall be settled, the person or

persons to be employed, the time of beginning &c, is referred to the Gov., deputy Gov., the magistrates and ministers settled in the jurisdiction, or so many of them as upon due notice shall meet to consider of this matter."

[1660] "The Court being deeply sensible of the small progress or proficiency in learning that hath yet been accomplished in the way of more particular town schools of later years in this colony, and of the great difficulty and charge to make pay &c, for the maintaining children at the schools or college in the Bay, and that notwithstanding what this colony did order last year or formerly, nothing hath yet been done to attain the ends desired, upon which considerations and other like, this Court for the further encouragement of this work, doth now order that over and above the 40 pounds per annum granted the last year for the end then declared, that 100 pounds stock shall be duly paid in from the jurisdiction treasury," for the encouragement of a colony grammar school.

The school was located at New Haven, where the town provided a schoolhouse and granted certain lands for its support. In 1660 Jeremiah Peck was engaged as master: "It was agreed that Mr. Peck now at Guilford should be schoolmaster, and that he should begin in October next, when his one half year expires there; he is to keep the school, to teach the scholars Latin, Greek and Hebrew and fit them for the college, and for the salary, he knows the allowance from the colony is 40 pounds a year, and for further treaties they must leave it to New Haven where the school is, and for further orders concerning the school and well carrying it on, the elders will consider of some against the court of magistrates in October next, when things as there may be cause, may be further considered."

The jurisdiction records of 1661 contain a lengthy reference to this school; it sheds so much light on the conditions then prevailing that it is worth while to quote it in full.

"There were sundry propositions presented by Mr. Peck, schoolmaster, to this court, as follows:

"1. That the schoolmaster shall be assisted with the power and counsel of any of the honored magistrates or reverend elders, as he finds need or the case may require.

"2. That Rectores Scholae be now appointed and established.

"3. What is it that the jurisdiction expects from the master, whether anything besides instruction in the languages and oratory.

"4. That two indifferent men be appointed to provide and send to the master such scholars as be fitted for his tuition.

"5. That two men be appointed to take care of the school, to repair and supply necessities as the case may require.

"6. Whether the master shall have liberty to be at neighbors' meetings once every week.

"7. Whether it may not be permitted that the school may begin, be it at eight of the clock all the winter half year.

"8. That the master shall have liberty to use any books that do or shall belong to the school.

"9. That the master shall have liberty to receive into and instruct in the school, scholars sent from other places out of this jurisdiction, and that he shall receive the benefit of them over and above what the jurisdiction doth pay him.

"10. That the master may have a settled habitation not at his own charge.

"11. That he shall have a week's vacation in the year, to improve as the case may require.

"12. That his person and estate shall be rate free in every plantation of this jurisdiction.

"13. That one-half of the year's payment shall be made to and accounts closed with the master within the compass of every half year.

"14. That 40 pounds per annum be paid to the schoolmaster by the Jurisdiction Treasurer, and that 10 pounds per annum be paid to him by the New Haven Treasurer.

"15. That the major part of the aforesaid payments shall be made to the schoolmaster in these particulars, as follows: viz. 30 bushels of wheat, 2 barrels of pork, and 2 barrels of beef, 40 bushels of Indian corn, 30 bushels of pease, 2 firkins of butter, 100 pounds of flax, 30 bushels of oats.

"Lastly, that the honored Court would be pleased to consider of and settle these things this court time, and to confirm the consequent of them, the want of which things, especially some of them, doth hold the master under discouragement and unsettlement; yet these things being suitably considered and confirmed, if it please the honored Court farther to improve him who at present is schoolmaster, although unworthy of such respect and weak for such a work, yet his real intention is to give himself up to the work of a grammar school, as it shall please God to give opportunity and assistance.

"The Court considering of these things, did grant as follows: viz. to the 2d, they did desire and appoint (naming three men) to take that care and trust upon them; to the 3rd, they declared that besides that which he expressed, they expected he should teach them to write as far as was necessary to his work; to the 4th, they declared that they left it to those before mentioned; to the 8th, they declared that he should have the use of those books, provided a list of them be taken; and the 9th, they left to the committee of the school; and the rest they granted in general, except the pork and butter; and for that they did order that he should have one barrel of pork and one firkin of butter, provided by the Jurisdiction Treasurer, though it be with some loss to the jurisdiction, and that he should have wheat for the other barrel of pork. This being done, Mr. Peck seemed to be very well satisfied."

But the school seems not to have flourished, for in 1662 "the committee considering of the business left to them about the laying down or continuing of the colony school,

after serious debate of the business, did thus conclude, that finding not sufficient grounds of discouragement at present so as to lay it down, did leave it to go on for further trial, until the General Court should again meet, desiring that those who have any children fit to send, that they should send them to it for the encouragement of the school."

Again, in November of the same year, "It is propounded as a thing left by the committee for the school, whether they would continue the colony school or lay it down. The business being debated, it came to this conclusion, that considering the distraction of the time, that the end is not attained for which it was settled, no way proportionable to the charges expended, and that the colony is in expectation of unavoidable necessary charges to be expended, did conclude to lay it down, and the charges to cease when this half year is up at the end of this month."

It was proposed that New Haven pay back forty of the one hundred pounds given by the jurisdiction, but "the deputies for New Haven told them that the colony school had occasioned a considerable charge to them about the schoolhouse and other ways, more than else they need have expended in that way, and that they were ready still, if they would continue the school, to perform their condition to provide schoolhouse and house for the schoolmaster, if need require."

After three years it was abandoned, and the town school was reëstablished. The qualifications of succeeding masters were rather meager, and the Latin teaching was very inferior, as may be inferred from this entry made in 1663: "The deputy Governor informed the town concerning the necessity of having a schoolmaster for the teaching of children, and said he had spoken with Mr. Davenport and they knew no one so fit for it at present as George Pardee who desired to know the town's mind. Mr. Pardee did not feel himself strong in his classics. 'He had lost much of the learning he

had formerly attained, but if he had a competent maintenance allowed him for his family, he should give himself and time wholly to the work for regaining what he had lost; but if that could not be, he must take all opportunities evenings and mornings in other ways, for the supply of his family.' To Mr. Pardee's propounding as to his work and his pay, it was answered; his work was to teach English and carry on his scholars in Latin as far as he could, to learn to write and something was said about arithmetic as very necessary in these parts."

In 1676 the town was presented for not having a grammar school. An attempt was made in 1677 to get a master who could teach the languages, but without success, and a similar unsuccessful attempt was made in 1681.

The will of Edward Hopkins, dated 1657, left a part of his New England property "to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the building up of hopeful youths both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times." This fund became available in 1664; Hartford received four hundred pounds, New Haven four hundred twelve pounds, and Hadley the balance. In 1684 the New Haven school had become so well established as to have been put under the following rules:

"Orders of the committee of Trustees for the grammar school at New Haven, to be observed and attended in the said school, agreed upon and published in the said school in the year 1684.

"1. The erection of the said school being principally for the instruction of hopeful youth in the Latin tongue, and other learned languages, so far as to prepare such youths for the college and public service of the country in church and commonwealth, the chief work of the schoolmaster is to instruct all such youths as are or may be by their parents or friends sent or committed unto him to that end, with all diligence, faithfulness, and constancy, out of any of the towns

of this county of New Haven, upon his salary account only, otherwise gratis. And if any boys are sent to the master of the said school from any other part of the colony or country, each such boy or youth to pay 10 shillings to the master, at or upon his entrance into the said school.

"2. That no boys be admitted into the said school for the learning of English books, but such as have been before taught to spell their letters well and begin to read, thereby to perfect their right spelling and reading, or to learn to write and cypher, or numeration and addition and no further, and that all others either too young and not instructed in letters and spelling, and all girls be excluded as improper and inconsistent with such a grammar school as the law enjoins and is the design of this settlement, and that no boys be admitted from other towns for the learning of English without liberty and special license from the committee.

"3. That the masters and scholars duly attend the school-hours, viz. from 6 in the morning to 11 a clock in the fore-noon, and from 1 a clock in the afternoon to 5 a clock in the afternoon in summer and 4 in the winter.

"4. That the master shall make a list or catalogue of his scholars' names and appoint a monitor in his turn for one week or longer time as the master shall see cause, who shall every morning and noon at least once a day at the set time, call over the names of the scholars, and note down the late comers or absent, and in fit season call such to an account that the faulty and truants may be corrected or reproved, as their fault shall deserve.

"5. That the scholars being called together, the master shall every morning begin his work with a short prayer for a blessing on his labors and their learning.

"6. That prayer being ended, the master shall assign to every one of his scholars their places of sitting according to their degrees of learning, and that, having their parts or lessons appointed them, they keep their seats and stir not out

of doors without leave of the master, and not above two at a time, and so successively unless in cases of necessity.

"7. That the scholars behave themselves at all times, especially in schooltime, with due reverence to their master, and with sobriety and quietness among themselves, without fighting, quarrelling or calling another or any other bad names, or using bad words in cursing, taking the name of God in vain, or other profane, obscene, or corrupt speeches, which if any do, that the master forthwith give them due correction. And if any prove incorrigible in such bad manners and wicked corrupting language and speeches notwithstanding former warnings, admonitions and corrections, that such be expelled the school, as pernicious and dangerous examples to the rest.

"8. That if any of the school boys be observed to play, sleep or behave themselves rudely or irreverently or be any way disorderly at meeting on the Sabbath days or any other times of public worships of God, that upon information or complaint thereof to the due conviction of the offender or offenders, the master shall give them due correction, to the degree of the offense, and that all corrections be with moderation.

"9. That no Latin boys be allowed upon any pretence, sickness and disability excepted, to withdraw or absent themselves from the school, without liberty granted by the master, and that no such liberty be granted but upon ticket from the parents or friends and on grounds sufficient as in cases of extraordinary or of absolute necessity.

"10. That all the Latin scholars and all other of the boys of competent age and capacity, give the master an account of one passage or sentence at least, of the sermons the foregoing Sabbath, on the second day morning, and that from 1 to 3 in the afternoon of every last day of the week, be improved by the master in catechising of his scholars that are capable."

Connecticut Colony

After the union of the two Connecticut colonies in 1665, the court of elections for the colony of Connecticut took some decisive steps toward the support of grammar schools. In 1672 it "granted to the county towns of Fairfield and New London the sum of 600 acres of land apiece . . . to be improved in the best manner that may be for the benefit of a grammar school in the said county towns." In 1677 towns neglecting to maintain schools according to law were made subject to a yearly fine of five pounds, "which said fine shall be paid towards the maintenance of the Latin school in their county." If county towns neglected "to keep a Latin school according to order, there shall be paid a fine of 10 pounds by the said county towns to the next town in their county that will engage to keep a Latin school in it, and so 10 pounds annually till they shall come up to the attendance of this order."

This legislation would seem sufficiently clear and definite, but it was evidently not altogether satisfactory, for in 1690 it was further enacted: "This Court considering the necessity and great advantage of good literature do order and appoint that there shall be two free schools kept and maintained by this Colony for the teaching of all such children as shall come there, after they can first read the Psalter, to teach such reading, writing, arithmetic, the Latin and Greek tongues, the one at Hartford, the other at New Haven, the masters whereof shall be chosen by the magistrates of the said County, and shall be inspected and again displaced by them if they see cause, and that each of the said masters shall have annually for the same the sum of 60 pounds in country pay, 30 pounds of it to be paid out of the County Treasury, the other 30 to be paid in the school revenue given by particular persons or to be given to that use, so far as it will extend, and the rest to be paid by the respective towns of Hartford and New Haven."

These various enactments bore fruit, for it was recorded in 1700: "Four grammar schools are constantly kept by the four county towns of this colony [Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield]."

In New London, in 1698, the town voted a rate of one halfpenny "for the use of a free school that shall teach children to read, write and cypher, and the Latin tongue." A principal was engaged for eight years. Beyond these county towns, grammar schools were few. Farmington, in 1683, voted to get "a man that is so accomplished as to teach children to read and write and teach the grammar," and ten years later, "a man that is in a capacity to teach both Latin and English."

Windsor was presented in 1672 and fined five pounds "for not procuring and maintaining a grammar school, said fine to be paid over to the Hartford grammar school." In 1674 a Mr. Cornish was schoolmaster at a salary of thirty-six pounds. This would indicate that there was a grammar master, though such a school is not mentioned by vote until 1698, when it was "agreed with Mr. Samuel Wolcott to keep a reading and writing and cyphering and grammar school for one full year." His salary was thirty-five pounds.

The Windsor fine shows that Hartford had a grammar school in 1672. There is presumptive evidence that her school was early established. The school taught by John Higginson in 1639, and by William Collins, "a young scholar and preacher from Barbadoes," in 1640, was without doubt a grammar school. The first school record, December 6, 1642, "It is agreed that 30 pounds a year shall be settled upon the school by the town, forever," indicates an existing school; and the amount implies a grammar school. In 1643 Mr. Andrews was master, and in 1648 John Russell, a Harvard master of arts, son of Reverend John Russell of Wethersfield, was master, both with salaries

pointing toward schools of grammar grade. The course of the school, as inferred from obtainable records, seems erratic; it lacked funds, lacked public support, and probably soon lapsed into a common school, to be revived as a county school.

In 1674 Mr. Caleb Watson was "encouraged" as master by a salary of sixty pounds: "And for the encouragement of the inhabitants of this town to send their children to school, the town do engage, so long as they shall continue the said Mr. Watson in that work, that the children of this town shall go free of charge to the school." The town agreed to raise thirty pounds of the salary "upon the inhabitants." This agreement held until annulled by vote of the town in 1687.

New Hampshire

In New Hampshire it is doubtful if a grammar school existed except at Portsmouth. In 1696 that town voted "an able schoolmaster be provided for the town as the law directs, not vicious in conversation." This doubtless refers to a grammar schoolmaster, for in 1697 the rate for "Latiners" was made twenty-four shillings for the year, and future records show that the grammar school was continued, though masters were not always to be had easily. In 1704 the town empowered the selectmen "to call and settle a grammar school according to the best of their judgment, and for the advantage of the youth of our town, to learn them from the primer, to write and cypher, and to learn them the tongues and good manners."

Exeter may have had a grammar school, for Pormont, the ex-Boston "brother," was schoolmaster here for five years. Bell, in his "Exeter Quarter Millennial," says: "And there is no reason to believe that the line of instructors of which he was the head was ever afterwards broken. We know that during the next century they were, almost to a man, college graduates."

Conclusions

From these records it seems safe to list the New England grammar schools in the following order:

Boston, 1635–1636
Charlestown, 1636
Salem, 1637
Dorchester, 1639
New Haven, 1639
Hartford, 1639
Cambridge, 1640–1643
Roxbury, 1645
Braintree, 1645–1646
Watertown, 1650
Ipswich, 1651
Dedham, 1653
Newbury, (1658), 1687
Northampton, 1667
Hadley, (1667), 1681
Hingham, 1670
Plymouth, county, 1671; town, 1699
Swansea, 1673, doubtful
Windsor, Conn., (1674), 1698
Duxbury, 1677
Rehoboth, 1678
Concord, 1680–1690
Bristol, 1682
Barnstable, 1682–1685, perhaps
Taunton, 1682, perhaps; 1697
Farmington, Conn., 1683
Woburn, 1685; unsuccessful
Lynn, (1687), 1700
Springfield, before 1690
Portsmouth, N.H., 1696; probably earlier
New London, Conn., 1698
Marblehead, 1698, doubtful
Sandwich, 1699, doubtful
Fairfield, Conn., before 1700, probably
Exeter, N.H., before 1700, probably

This list shows that in two generations as many as twenty-seven grammar schools were begun, and possibly seven others; and one was attempted but lacked popular support. At this time there were eighty-one towns in Massachusetts. It is unfortunate that the population of these towns cannot be ascertained, to enable us to know how fully they conformed to the law. The 1765 census in Massachusetts showed one hundred eighty-four towns, of which only eighty-one had over a thousand inhabitants. From this it might be inferred that the proportion of towns having grammar schools in 1700 was as large as it should have been; that, in fact, nearly all towns had complied with the law. Another view, however, is obtained from a list of polls given in by twenty towns in

Middlesex county (Massachusetts) in 1708. Nine of the twenty showed more than one hundred families, but only five had attempted a grammar school, and but four had succeeded in its establishment. The list of Harvard graduates from 1644 to 1700 shows that some towns credited with grammar schools did not send a single student to the college, while other towns, for instance, Salisbury, Plymouth in 1646, Dedham, Ipswich, and Concord, even before their schools were established, sent students, evidently prepared by the ministers of the towns. The great body of the college students came from the well-established and continuous schools at Boston, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Charlestown. When all obtainable light has been shed upon the subject but one conclusion can be reached: the grammar school was not a popular institution; it was conceived, supported, and perpetuated by the few; its extension was slow; its course in most towns was erratic; and yet, considering all the struggles of this period, it was a marvelous institution, the bed rock of future educational systems.

II

THE NEW ENGLAND GRAMMAR SCHOOL

(1700–1800)

The dawn of the new century found the colonies wearied and exhausted by their fierce struggles in the establishment of homes, and in conquering the wilderness and the savage. Life and religious liberty had proved costly. Yet new settlements were pushing out and out into untried sections, and the children were repeating the struggles of the fathers. Taxation in every form was a burden. The intellectual fiber of the English college-bred fathers had largely disappeared, though the firmness of purpose and narrowness of view still remained. The worth of the grammar school was not always recognized, and though the old law remained in force for the whole of this eighteenth century, and larger penalties were added to assist in its enforcement, and though presentments at court became frequent, the school did not flourish as it might. Everywhere there was collision between the "outskirts" and the "center," resulting finally in the formation of districts, and in many places there was conflict between the advocates of the English schools and the grammar-school law.

The previous section showed the actual establishment of twenty-seven grammar schools, and the possible or attempted establishment of eight others. Most of the twenty-seven schools continued in growth and usefulness; some of the eight became well defined and distinct, though not without some difficulties.

Massachusetts

In 1708 Middlesex County had, as before stated, twenty towns, nine of which had more than one hundred families, and hence were required by law to maintain grammar schools. Only four had obeyed the law—Charlestown, Watertown, Cambridge, and Concord. Woburn, whose first attempt had been futile, was the scene of a curious struggle during these years. In March, 1700, "a committee of three was chosen to inquire for, and treat with, some suitable person to keep a grammar school in the town, and occasionally to assist the Rev. Mr. Fox in the ministry; and to make report of their doings herein before they agreed with the man." Little had been done since Mr. Carter's day; this committee did less. The town was presented at court, and in May of the same year a new committee was appointed "to agree with Sir Fox or any other gentleman upon as easy terms as they can." He was hired for four months upon trial, at a salary of nine pounds, and proved so satisfactory that he was reëngaged for a whole year at twenty-eight pounds.

The Woburn school began, then, in 1700. At the end of the year the town refused to renew on the old terms. The new conditions were "18 pounds certain, and in case he should have more work in that place than he had last year, he should have forty shillings more." The school did not flourish; schoolmasters were not easily found. At one time a committee consumed six weeks, traveling twice to Boston and twice to Cambridge, before finding one. In 1704 Mr. Dudley Bradstreet was in Woburn "at the time of the Charlestown Court," acting the part of temporary schoolmaster. He left town on the adjournment of the court, having had his expenses paid while there and receiving "eighteen shillings in silver for a gratuity."

In 1706 the town was again presented at court, but on entering the plea that they had been looking for a schoolmaster

but without success, they were excused. The matter dragged until March, 1708, when the town ordered the selectmen to "provide one against the next court, which is the ninth current, if possible." Mr. John Tufts was engaged to begin March 8, "he to stay in Woburn one month from the said eighth day of March, and then come again when the town sends for him." This is clearly a court-dodging scheme, but he proved so popular a master that he was engaged for a full year, and it was stipulated that, as he must go into the various parts of the town, the people must "find him a horse to ride to meeting on."

Further evasion is found in 1732, when an entry was made "to Ebenezer Flagg in full for keeping the grammar school in the year past, and standing in schoolmaster two courts, £13–10–0." From 1758 to 1770, however, the school had one master, Mr. John Fowle, noted for his Latin and his discipline. In 1760 he petitioned for some additional allowance "in consideration of the fatigues he hath had by reason of so many removals." The petition was denied and was never repeated.

In 1701 another of these towns, Sudbury, chose Mr. Joseph Noyes to be "a grammar schoolmaster for one year." His certificate of approbation from the ministers reads: "We, the subscribers, being desired by the town of Sudbury to write what we could testify concerning the justification of Mr. Joseph Noyes of Sudbury for a legal grammar schoolmaster, having examined the said Mr. Joseph Noyes, we find that he hath been considerably versed in the Latin and Greek tongues, and do think that upon his diligent revisal and recollection of what he hath formerly learned, he may be qualified to initiate and instruct the youth in the Latin tongue."

He stayed only two months, and in 1702 the town voted "that a rate should be made to pay the five pounds the town was fined for want of a schoolmaster." And later in the same year "it is agreed and concluded that the town doth and will

grant to pay unto Mr. Nathaniel Picher six pounds in money in course he doth accept of the town's choice as to be our grammar schoolmaster" for one quarter. There was a grammar school from this time. In the 1740's it was kept "in the five remote corners of the town"; in 1781 it was found again in the center of the town.

The other towns, Reading, Marlboro, and Billerica, did not maintain grammar schools, though Marlboro paid seven pounds in 1702 "for teaching our children and youth in reading, writing, and casting accounts, and also in Latin, as occasion is, and in doing the duty of schoolmaster four months." There is no evidence that Latin was continued in this town.

In Boston, their first grammar school was made to do sole duty for more than two generations. In March, 1711–1712, this document was presented at the town meeting:

"Considerations relating to a free grammar school in the north part of Boston.

"It cannot but be thought strange that one grammar school should be thought sufficient for a town of above 2000 families when the law of the Province imposes one upon every town that hath above 100.

"Education is as great and good an interest as can be prosecuted by any people, and the more liberally it is prosecuted, the more is done for the honor and welfare of such a people. The grammar school in this town is as full of scholars as can well consist with a faithful discharge of duty to them.

"The north part of this town bears no inconsiderable share in the public expense, and we hope are not altogether unworthy of the public benefits. It is known that when an hundred and odd children have been found in the public grammar school, not one of that hundred nor any but the few odd ones have been sent from that part of the town. The distance hath hindered many parents from exposing their tender children to the travels of the winter and the summer hither.

"Some that cannot be satisfied without bestowing a good cultivation on their children are at the charge of a private grammar school in the neighborhood. Others do send their children abroad in the country. When the people of that neighborhood were prevailed withal to come and to vote for additional encouragements unto the present grammar school, they were made to hope that they should ere long be favored with another near unto themselves.

"If the town will smile on this just and fair proposal, it is probable there will appear some particular gentleman whose desire to serve the public will exert itself on this occasion and make liberal advances towards the providing of such necessary preliminaries.

"These considerations are humbly offered to the inhabitants of Boston, to be laid in the balance of equity in the next general meeting."

The request was granted, and this second grammar school was located on North Bennett Street. The house was donated by the father of Governor Hutchinson. The town's action was recorded in these votes:

"Voted thanks to Capt. Thomas Hutchinson for as much as he hath offered at his own charge to build a schoolhouse at the north end of this town.

"Voted that there be a free grammar school at the north end of this town.

"Voted that a town committee be chosen to enquire after a piece of land at the north end, suitable to set a schoolhouse on, and to prepare for and oversee the building thereof.

"Voted that the selectmen be desired to consider of a proper person for a schoolmaster there and to treat about terms."

This is the only town that had two grammar schools. Outside of Boston there was a constant struggle to maintain even a single one in each town. The whole century is marked by indifference to the law, or open defiance of it. More and more

the conviction is forced upon us that this form of school existed not by popular will but by force of law. After the school kept by Parson Wiswall was closed, Duxbury joined the delinquents and, in 1709, was fined "£5 for want of a schoolmaster." In 1731 Pelatiah West was chosen "to answer their presentment of said court for not being provided with a schoolmaster." In 1737 the town was again presented for not having a grammar schoolmaster. It is probable that a school was kept during some of these intervening years, for in 1741 the town voted that the school should "go round with the sun as it has been kept ever since the said town were provided with a grammar school," and in 1742 two men were chosen agents "to go down to the eastward" and see about the land which had been granted by the general court toward the support of the grammar school. Later this land was sold for £750, old tenor.

Braintree, after two generations of a grammar school, made an agreement with Mr. Benjamin Thompson "for an abiding schoolmaster, not exceeding £30 per annum in or as money, during the time he perform the work, until the present law referring to schools be repealed." But the school was continued, for in 1790 "the school committee reported verbally the sum of £150 be appropriated for schooling the ensuing year, and that there be a grammar school kept nine months, . . . such a master to be agreed with as will be willing to teach English as well as Latin, and also to teach writing and cyphering." The selectmen were ordered to "agree with a grammar schoolmaster."

Other grammar schools were attempted in these early years, but in many cases there was great difficulty in supporting them. Scituate, in 1701, "agreed with Deacon David Jacobs to keep a reading, writing, and grammar school for one year"; and in 1711 the selectmen were ordered to provide "but one grammar school and that to be kept in the middle of the town and not to be removed."

In 1701 Andover voted to build a schoolhouse and directed the selectmen "to employ a grammar schoolmaster from year to year." The school was not kept continuously, for the town was indicted in 1713, and the selectmen pleaded inability to obtain a master:

"This may certify any to whom it may concern, that the selectmen of said town have taken all the care and pains they could for to procure a schoolmaster for our town for the year last past, but could not obtain one; first, we agreed with Mr. Obediah Ayers of Haverhill for half a year, only he expected liberty if he had a better call or offer, which we thought would be only for the work of the ministry; but, however, he was pleased to take it otherwise and so left us; whereupon we forthwith applied ourselves to the college to the president for advice, and he could tell us of none, only advised us to the Fellows to ask them; and they advised to Mr. Rogers of Ipswich, for they could tell us of no other; and we applied ourselves to him and got him to Andover. But by reason our Rev. Mr. Barnard could not diet him, he would not stay with us, and since we have sent to Newbury and Salisbury and to Mistick for to hire one and cannot get one; and we do take the best care we can for to bring our children to reading by schooldames, and we have no grammar school in our town as we know of, and we are now taking the best care we can for to obtain one, therefore we pray that we may be favored so far as may be, for we cannot compel gentlemen to come to us, and we do suppose they are something afraid by the reason we do lie so exposed to our Indian enemies. Pray consider our great extremity in that regard and we shall do our uttermost to answer to the true intent of the law in that behalf. So we rest your humble petitioners."

Some of these difficulties were overcome a few years later, for in 1720 an agreement was made with Mr. James Bailey "to keep a grammar school for one year following for £44"; and in 1723 another master was engaged.

In 1700 Haverhill ordered a grammar school to be established, and appropriated thirty pounds for that purpose, but nothing was done. In 1701 this record was made: "The question being moved by some of the inhabitants whether this town is obliged by law to be provided with a grammar schoolmaster, yea or no, the town answers in the negative and therefore do not proceed to do it, because they do not find they have the one hundred families or householders which the law mentions."

The next year their vision was sharpened by an indictment and fine, and the selectmen were ordered to get a schoolmaster "with all the speed they can," and one was engaged for thirty-four pounds. In 1711 a master was wanted "to move quarterly," but no one was found. As a general thing, the grammar schoolmasters objected to the moving school. In 1751 the town was again indicted for lack of a grammar school. The school was immediately reëstablished and was kept up thereafter the greater part of the time. In 1790 an elaborate series of rules was issued.

Haverhill's contention against the grammar-school law because of the lack of the full one hundred families, was a common excuse. When Malden was indicted in 1710 the householders' list was put in as evidence, showing ninety-six families able to be taxed and seven too poor for taxes; and the record shows that "the Court do dismiss them for the present as to a grammar school, and order them to provide themselves with a good, able, sufficient schoolmaster to teach their children to write and read, and make their report to the next Court of Quarter Sessions of their doing, with the name of the person so provided. Are dismissed paying fees." After several ineffectual town meetings, appointments of committees, and selections of men, Mr. Samuel Wigglesworth, "who was probably the first public school teacher in Malden who possessed a liberal education," was engaged at "sixteen pounds and ten shillings in money" for six months, duties to begin

January 1, 1711. This was acceptable to the court. The town was presented again in 1715 and in 1719, and was ordered to "provide themselves with a grammar schoolmaster by the next court"; and in 1720 Mr. Josiah Marshall "hath been approved of by two of the neighboring ministers as a person suitably qualified for such an office."

Lancaster, in 1715, was presented for want of a schoolmaster and gave as an excuse: "The town for these several months have endeavored to procure a schoolmaster that may benefit the town and answer the law, and have agreed with a young gentleman, viz., Mr. Perpont of Roxbury, who had now probably been actually in said service but his indisposition of body hinders." They also pleaded an insufficient number of families and "that a writing school may answer till our number be increased." The court allowed them this, and the town was "dismissed paying fee."

Groton answered an indictment in 1717, by a petition from the selectmen: "The petition sets forth that there are not one hundred families in the town; that the grand jury never intended a grammar school; that the town had been provided with a schoolmaster to teach children to read and write according to law, and therefore hope to be discharged from presentment." "Ordered and done."

Medfield, in 1722, was presented for not maintaining a grammar school, and the selectmen in their reply stated:

"Whereas the town of Medfield having been presented for some deficiency in a school according to law, we, whose names are underwritten, being selectmen of the said town of Medfield, do certify your honors that for several years past, we have had a constant schoolmaster who is very capable to learn to read and write &c in English, and is very inclinable for that work; and we have not at any time been without such a school except it were a small space of time last July, when the schoolmaster was taken ill and incapable of that work; we, the selectmen, did quickly seek out another to supply that place,

and we have been constantly supplied to this time, till the same schoolmaster hath been recovered and is now engaged in that work. And may it please your honors, we are certain that we had such a school when the presentment was made. And as for the number of householders or families in our town, referring to a grammar school, indeed in former years we had such a number of families and had a grammar school some years before Medway was taken from us, and is a distinct town; we were ready to conform to our duty in the law; but now may it please your honors, our town falleth short considerably of 100 householders or families, we having sufficient knowledge of every family within the town bounds, which bounds contains no more than three miles one way and four miles the other way; and to the best of our understandings, we have reckoned up all the families in the town, and find but ninety-four families."

The court did not accept the plea, a school was established the next year, and the selectmen reported to the justices:

"These may certify the honored the Majesty's Justices in their session of the peace for the county of Suffolk, at Boston, March 27th, 1723, That the subscribers, being selectmen of Medfield, have procured a grammar schoolmaster within our town, being one Mr. Jabez Wight, who is approved by the ministers as the law directs, who is now for some time engaged in that work in Medfield, but not to trouble your honors with anything now at this time as to the number of families in our town, we remain your Honors' humble servants, with submission to your wise determination."

In 1760, when the town was divided into three districts, it was voted, "Any of the inhabitants of each district to have the liberty to send any child to the grammar school in the middle district to learn the Latin tongue and the mathematical arts."

During this century towns showed more solicitude in evading fines than in founding grammar schools. Worcester, in 1740, voted:

"That the sum of £100 be granted for the support of schools in the town for the year ensuing, £50 whereof to be applied towards keeping a grammar school in the present schoolhouse; the other £50 to be divided equally among the quarters or skirts as usual, provided the body of the town keep a grammar school the year and save the town from presentment." In 1752 a vote required "the inhabitants of the center district, extending one mile and a half around the center, to keep a grammar school the whole year." What the town appropriation lacked was made up by private subscription. John Adams, afterwards President, was the master from 1755 to 1758. He says: "In the public exercises of Commencement, I was somewhat remarked as a respondent, and the Rev. Mr. Maccarty of Worcester, who was empowered by the selectmen of that town to procure them a Latin master for the grammar school, engaged me to undertake it. About three weeks after Commencement in 1755, when not twenty years of age, a horse was sent me from Worcester and a man to attend me. We made the journey from Braintree to Worcester, sixty miles, in one day, and I entered on my office. For three months I boarded with one Green at the expense of the town and by the agreement of the selectmen."

His diary for 1756 gives an illustration of the dislike Latin masters had for the moving school. He says: "Engaged to keep school at Bristol, provided Worcester people at their ensuing March meeting should change this into a moving school, not otherwise." The school was grudgingly maintained. In 1766 the opposition took the form of instructions to the representative to the General Court: "That the law for keeping of Latin grammar schools be repealed and that we be not obliged to keep more than one in a county and that to be kept at the county charge."

In 1767 the instructions gained in vigor and directness: "That you use your endeavors to relieve the people of the Province from the great burden of supporting so many Latin

grammar schools, whereby they are prevented from attaining such a degree of English learning as is necessary to retain the freedom of any state."

In 1769 a committee was appointed "to treat with the proprietors of the grammar school in town and to agree with them upon what terms they will allow said school to be considered as the town grammar school." An agreement was made for six pounds a year, "said proprietors engaging that the said grammar school shall be free for all persons in said town desirous of learning the languages." In the town warrant for 1785 was an article, "to see what the town will do with regard to a presentment for not keeping a grammar school, also to see what the town will do in regard to keeping a grammar school for the future." Only the second part received consideration, on which it was voted "that the selectmen be a committee to confer with the proprietors of the grammar school now keeping in this town, to see if they can agree with them so the town may be exempt from paying a fine for the future."

The next year instructions to the representative were introduced into town meeting and barely defeated. They showed, however, the temper of the people. These instructions read: "That you endeavor to have the law repealed which obliges each town to keep a grammar school at the expense of the town, as we think it a burden to be obliged to hire and pay a grammar master when the town at large receives no advantage thereby."

In 1788 it was voted "that the town treasurer be directed to pay the cost of the presentment against the town for not keeping a grammar school, upon the bills being made up." In 1799 the school became a moving school under this vote: "That the grammar school in future be kept as a moving school until otherwise ordered."

The Worcester records have been given thus *in extenso*, because they are typical. The inland towns, covering large

areas, sparsely settled even when they reached the one hundred families, could not afford to maintain a grammar school for the few. It was too heavy a burden. Petitions to the General Court for assistance in the way of land grants were frequent. Groton, in 1734, furnishes a good example: "The town taking into consideration the obligations they are under, by law of the Province, to be constantly provided with a grammar school, and their poverty and inability to support the same, petitioned for a tract of land, the profits and produce of which to be applied and approved for or towards the support of a grammar school in this town." The town's history shows a moving school, an indictment, a school "in the middle of the town," another indictment, and so on in this struggle between ability, desire, and the law.

Mendon, in 1709, made this record:

"Whereas a schoolmaster is wanting to teach the children to read, write and cypher as the law directs, and Mr. Rawson [the minister] offering the town that if the town would retain a Latin schoolmaster for four years, he would give said schoolmaster his board all the said time, therefore voted that the town accept the said offer and do resolve to retain a Latin schoolmaster for said town for four years, and to give £20 a year for the service."

There is no record to show if this vote was carried into effect. If carried into effect, it did not win its way into the affections of the town, for in 1721 William Boyce was elected schoolmaster to keep a "reading, and writing school during the year, unless the town should be presented for want of a grammar school." A similar spirit is found in a vote of 1786, "that the selectmen provide a grammar school so far as to clear the town from any fine." Both generations showed greater zeal in escaping the fine than in maintaining the school.

Presentments were common but not effective. As late as 1785 Weymouth was presented for not having a grammar

school. Newton, in 1762, was presented "for not setting up a grammar school," though the town had voted the year previous "that the grammar school be kept at the house of Edward Durant." Amesbury, in 1717, appointed a special committee to hire a grammar schoolmaster. Five years later the town was presented for not having such a schoolmaster, and Deacon John Tewksbury went to Ipswich to answer in court. In 1757 there was another presentment, and another in 1778. Grammar schools were probably maintained intermittently between these dates. Hardwick was presented in 1747 and not fined; in 1758, and paid costs; in 1767, and was fined £8 6s. 8d. In 1785 it was voted "to have the grammar school kept in four parts of the town so long as will clear the town of a fine."

Harwich, in 1708, voted "to establish at the town's charge schools of a higher order than heretofore existing here," and "Edward Bangs was appointed to answer to the presentment of the town for past neglect in this matter." In 1720 it was voted to establish a grammar school, but the next year it was voted "to give Mr. Philip Selew £50 to keep school this year, provided he will pay one half what the town shall be liable to pay if fined for want of a grammar school." This would indicate noncompliance with the law and with the vote of the previous year, and also that the existing school was an English school. Framingham was presented in 1717, and a committee was appointed to find a schoolmaster, but they reported the following year that they "had used the utmost diligence but could find no man to be had as yet." Later another committee was appointed to visit a Mr. Goddard and "see upon what terms he will serve the town as schoolmaster for a year; and if he will serve as cheap or something cheaper than another, then they are to make a bargain with him for a full year." This policy resulted in varying schools and consequent presentments and fines.

In Beverly, in 1700, "in conformity with the law then in force, a grammar school was established and Robert Hale, son of the minister, was appointed master, with a salary of £10, and an additional allowance if he kept an English school. The next year, the school was kept by Daniel Dodge and in 1704, James Hale, another son of the minister, was the master, who taught writing, reading, casting accounts, Latin, and Greek grammar." In 1782 "the grammar school was discontinued, for which the town was presented to the Court of Sessions, when it was resumed again and continued without further interruptions." Brookline, in 1766, voted not to have a grammar school and then reconsidered it. Lunenburg, in 1732, voted, "If the committee see good to hire a grammar schoolmaster, they shall have the liberty, provided they pay the overplus charge of what the keeping of a grammar school would be more than the charge of keeping an English school." Wenham, in 1770, voted that "a grammar school be constantly kept in the town the year ensuing, and that provision be made for the support of the same."

Wherever these schools existed, there seems to have been a placating spirit, as manifested in the moving school. The mountain was moved to Mahomet. Sometimes the school was moved around with the sun. Sometimes it was located in the neighborhood of prominent citizens, sometimes geographically, sometimes in convenient centers. Generally the amount of time for any locality was elaborately figured out according to the money paid by that section, even to the fraction of a day. Weston records many items like these: "Voted that they will not keep the grammar school in more than three places in said town for the future," and "that the grammar school be kept in the four quarters of this town only." Falmouth, in 1763, chose a committee "to open a grammar school and procure a teacher, moving the school from place to place so as to give all parts the benefit." Districts were formed in North Brookfield in 1763, but it was voted that "any such

remote taxpayer whose son inclines to learn the tongues other than the English, may have liberty at the middle school, they having a grammar schoolmaster." Manchester, in 1765, voted "£50 for a grammar school, the people at Cittle Cove to draw their proportion of said £50 for a school at the Cove, and to have no benefit of the school in the middle of the town."

Chelsea was set off from Boston in 1738, and the second town meeting voted "to continue the grammar school provided any persons appeared to make up the difference of charge between a grammar and a writing school." There is nothing in the Boston records to indicate that Chelsea had ever had a grammar school, and yet this item says "continue." The vote the next year seems to show that some one paid the difference, for it was then voted "not to continue the grammar school; but inasmuch as some person may make up the surplus charge between a grammar and writing school, voted to defer the consideration of a school till next meeting, and that the selectmen be desired to take any such subscriptions and report at next meeting." At the next meeting there was nothing done about a grammar school, and it is not mentioned in the records again until 1769, when it was voted "to have a grammar school and that the school be kept by direction of the selectmen."

New Hampshire

New Hampshire was the only New England state besides Massachusetts that endeavored to maintain the grammar school. When she passed out from the control of Massachusetts in 1680, the law of that state for 1647 was adopted as the law for the new province, and under it two grammar schools were probably established before 1700.

Presumably they did not flourish, for in 1708 the following act was passed:

"That a Latin school be kept at Portsmouth in the said Province; and that the schoolmaster from time to time be appointed by his Excellency, Council, and settled ministers of the town; and that the said schoolmaster be paid by the several towns within this Province, the sum of £50 money per annum, besides what the selectmen of Portsmouth shall order to be paid by each of those inhabitants that send their children to learn Latin; and to be free for writers, readers, and Latinists; and the several sums to be paid by each town are as follows, viz.; Portsmouth £28, Hampton £8, Dover £6, Exeter £6, and Newcastle £2; and that this act continue two years; and that the selectmen in every town within the Province make assessments on their inhabitants for each of their proportions as aforesaid, to be collected and paid unto the said schoolmaster yearly, by the first day of March, and if the selectmen in each town or any of them shall fail of making such assessments, it shall be lawful for any two justices of the peace in the Province to issue forth a warrant or warrants, directed to the sheriff, to levy on any of the selectmen or their estates for any such sum not paid according to time, to pay the same to the schoolmaster from year to year."

Later in the year the Council learned that "notwithstanding the pious law of the Gov., Council, and Assembly of this Province, in raising a free grammar school for the Province, to be kept in the town of Portsmouth, being the head of the government, and there being good provision for the maintenance of a master, the Council are now informed that there is no provision made by the town of Portsmouth for a schoolhouse for the receipt of the master and scholars."

Therefore it was immediately "ordered, That the selectmen of the town of Portsmouth be notified of their neglect herein, and that they forthwith provide a suitable house for the said school to be kept, that the schools may not lose their time, within three days next coming, upon the penalty

of £50, to be levied upon their persons and estates as other fines, to be brought through the treasury to be expended in building a good schoolhouse for the future service, that the aforesaid good and religious act of the Assembly be not evaded or eluded."

In 1712 the Council sent for Mr. Daniel Ringe, who "was discoursed relating to his taking up to be schoolmaster in the town of Portsmouth to teach Latin, writing and cypher-ing, . . . and the said Daniel Ringe having acquainted this Board he is willing to settle himself for four years a school-master of the said town of Portsmouth; agreeable therefore to the said act, the Council and minister aforesaid have ap-pointed the said Daniel Ringe to be schoolmaster of the said town of Portsmouth for four years, and to receive £50 per annum, as mentioned in the act aforesaid."

This did not solve the difficulty, for in 1717 this record was made: "Whereas the selectmen of Portsmouth have complained to this house, that their town now lies under a presentment for want of schools in the town; voted, that the selectmen be empowered to call and agree with two school-masters for the town of Portsmouth, the one for Latin, the other for reading and writing and cyphering, and settle them as may be most beneficial for the town at their discretion."

In 1719 a new law reiterated that "when any town or towns have the number of one hundred families or house-holders, there shall be a grammar school set up, and kept in every such town, and some discreet person of good conversa-tion, well instructed in the tongues, shall be procured to be master thereof, and every such schoolmaster to be suitably encouraged and paid by the inhabitants."

The penalty was made twenty pounds for each six months of neglect, and the selectmen were authorized to employ the schoolmasters. In 1721, to focus the neglect a little more sharply, this law was passed: "Whereas there is a law obliging every town within this Province consisting of one

hundred families, to be provided with a grammar school, and there being so much time given in the law as six months before the penalty of the law takes effect from year to year, causes great neglect, which is much to the damage of every such town, Voted, that each town and parish within this Province consisting of one hundred families be constantly provided with a good grammar school, and the selectmen of each town for the time being, to be obliged to procure and provide said schools, and in case of their neglect for the space of one month after the publication hereof, shall forfeit and pay the sum of £20 to be applied to defray the Province charge."

There was also in the law a clause allowing towns that felt themselves unable to comply with its terms to seek relief from the Court of General Sessions. These modifications of the Massachusetts law made the struggle in New Hampshire take a somewhat different form, though the aim and the end were the same. In 1724 this act was passed: "Whereas it is found by experience that there is great inconveniency attending several towns in this Province, who are obliged to support a grammar school by act of the General Assembly, which induces a very great and unnecessary expense upon the said towns, without the least advantage thereby; —

"Therefore, in Council September 26, 1724, voted, that the said act respecting grammar schools be repealed and that there be one established free school to be supported at the Province charge at Portsmouth, and that the town of Portsmouth pay one quarter part of the charges, and that the other towns pay in proportion to their Province tax, and that a committee of both houses be appointed to obtain and agree with a suitable person to settle as schoolmaster and that a bill be prepared accordingly."

There was generally a good school spirit in the various towns, but limitations of locations and other circumstances often rendered a central grammar school of little service to

many of the people. There were many requests for relief made to the Court of General Sessions. Two petitions, two generations apart, will sufficiently show the arguments used. The first was presented in 1722:

"The humble petition of the representatives for the township of Dover in behalf of said town, humbly showeth:

"That whereas the said town is one of the most exposed towns in this Province, to the insults of the Indian enemy, and also whereas by an act of the General Assembly of this Province, the said town of Dover (amongst others) is obliged by said act to keep and maintain a grammar school, and whereas the circumstances and situation or settlements of the inhabitants of said town lying and being in such manner as it is, the houses being so scattered over the whole township that in no one place six houses are within call, by which inconveniency the inhabitants of said town can have no benefit of such grammar school, for at the times fit for children to go and come from school, is generally the chief time of the Indians doing mischief, so the inhabitants are afraid to send their children to school, and the children dare not venture, so that the salary to said schoolmaster is wholly lost to said town.

"So that your petitioners at the request and in behalf of said town humbly pray your honorable and general Assembly that there may be an act of this General Assembly passed, that the said town of Dover may be exempted from keeping a grammar school during the war with the Indians, as formerly they were. So pray your humble petitioners."

The following action was taken: "The Dover petition was read and concurred with, provided they keep a school for writing and arithmetic."

The other petition was from the town of Wilton in 1788:

"The petition of us, the subscribers, humbly showeth; That a law of this state, entitled an act for the settlement and support of grammar schools, obliges every town of the state, consisting of one hundred families, to maintain yearly

a grammar school, and for every month's neglect, imposing a fine of £10. That the town of Wilton, several years last past, has made peculiar provision for the instruction of its youth. It has employed from the seat of the muses several well accomplished young gentlemen, and some aged experienced gentlemen of literary accomplishment, for the space of twenty years last past, and it has expended for a number of years upon schooling £87, and sometimes it has assessed more, at least a sum sufficient to support her two grammar schools annually. Apprehending the end of law, in general, to be the interest and happiness of its subjects, and the end of the school laws, in particular, to be the good education of youth, we presumed a compliance with the spirit of this law would atone for a small deviation from the letter, especially as this deviation has facilitated the progress of our youth and gratified the wishes of their parents and guardians.

"The town of Wilton with this view of the matter, and from the view of its local situation, — mountainous land, long winters, deep snows, inhabitants scattered, town divided by a rapid stream rendering a passage to its center at some seasons of the year inconvenient and impracticable, — from a view of public expenses, the scarcity of specie, the inability of the people to provide necessary schooling in the extreme parts, while obliged to support a grammar school in the center, our annual expense for the support of a number of bridges over rapid streams, building a convenient and decent house for public worship, the charge of which is not entirely settled, the importance of the labor of our youth and of their being instructed in agriculture and the manual arts; voted, to raise sufficient money to support two grammar schools, to divide the town into as many districts as was convenient, and to appoint committees in each district to see that the money was faithfully improved in the instruction of their youth. This method of education we have found by many years' experience very beneficial. The state of learning of Wilton

sufficiently evinces the expediency of it. Notwithstanding, one month preceding the General Session of the peace in the county of Hillsboro, in September last past, being destitute of a grammar school, the Grand Jury found a bill against the selectmen and they were accordingly cited to appear. Though the sessions were convinced we had adopted a more advantageous method of education than we should have practised had we adhered to the letter of the law, yet the penalty of that law being absolute, they could not acquit us or lessen the fine. We therefore pray your honorables for leave to bring in a bill acquitting us from mulct imposed upon us by the general sessions. Apprehending from experience that the method of education we have adopted might be beneficial to many towns, we beg leave to suggest, without presuming to dictate, and with humble deference to your honors' authority and distinguished abilities, the possibilities of advantage to the public by a revisal of the aforesaid law, and as in duty bound will ever pray."

This petition was supported by two certificates, one from Mr. Josiah Burge, a teacher, and the other from Mr. Abel Fisk, the minister. Mr. Burge said:

"I am happy to certify that the youth of Wilton are in general very good readers, writers and cypherers. They are further advanced in learning than those of most towns in the county, within the compass of my knowledge, who have maintained grammar schools, and inferior to none with which I am acquainted. I believe I might safely affirm that there is no other town in the state, of the same ability, that can produce so many youth so well qualified for common business, so well accomplished in all the branches of learning which are essentially useful, in every department of life, as can the town of Wilton."

Mr. Fisk made this statement:

"Having made it my annual practise to call the youth together in different parts of the town, to advise and instruct

them, I have taken occasion to examine them in respect to the improvement they have made in reading and have been highly pleased with the accuracy and propriety exhibited in that branch of literature.

"I have likewise been present at school when the children have been examined respecting the names and uses of those stops and characters that are made use of in the English language, and they have answered the questions proposed to admiration. I have seen their writing, etc. and it appears to me, from the observations I have made, that the people of Wilton have paid particular attention to the school education of their children."

A committee was appointed to consider this petition, and in a few days they reported: "That although the town of Wilton have not strictly adhered to the letter of the law, yet it appears to your committee they have been at great expense for the education of their youth, and that it is the opinion of the committee that the fine be remitted and that they have leave to bring a bill accordingly."

This report was accepted, and the town received relief.

In 1727 the Assembly passed this act: "Concerning the infancy of the town of Londonderry, provided they keep two schools for writing and reading in said town, that they be exempted from the penalties in the laws of this Province relating to grammar schools for one year now next ensuing, and to commence from their annual meeting in March next, and all courts that have authority in that affair are to take notice of this order and conform according to it." This exemption was afterwards extended to two years. Seven years later the town voted: "There shall be three schools, one of which shall be a grammar school, the others English schools, the grammar master to go from one school to another." In 1739 the town gave the Reverend Matthew Clark a special salary "on condition of his keeping the town from employing any other grammar schoolmaster."

The towns generally avoided supporting a grammar school as long as they could, and often preferred to pay the fine. Hollis, in 1768, voted that if it was complained of it would pay the fine, and it passed a similar vote during the Revolutionary War. New Boston, in 1788, voted "to hire a grammar schoolmaster for a year as cheap as they can, and the said schoolmaster shall pass an examination." New Ipswich tried for a number of years to avoid the expense of such a school, and annually voted "to indemnify the selectmen if they should be fined for not providing one." Finally, in 1771, it was voted to have a school during nine months of the year, but at the same time they voted "to hold the selectmen harmless if they did not have one." Chester, in 1751, voted "to defend and secure the selectmen from any damage they may come at for not providing a grammar school." Five years later this article appeared in the town warrant: "To see what the town will do concerning hiring a grammar schoolmaster for the year 1756, it being an express from the Court by the Grand Juryman to the selectmen." It was voted "that the present selectmen shall take care and, if they can, provide a grammar schoolmaster for the town so as to fulfil and answer the intents of the law, and if they cannot obtain one, then they are fully impowered to address the court in behalf of and in favor of the town, on that account and at the charge of said town." The second article for the meeting in 1760 called attention to the fact that the selectmen were in danger of presentment for not providing the school, and asked the town to secure them from the threatened fine. This the town refused to do. In 1771 they were fined ten pounds and costs.

Weare began a school in 1772, but it was not long continued, being dropped during the Revolutionary War. In 1784 the town voted not to have a grammar school, and also agreed to pay all costs and fines if the selectmen were indicted. Three years later they were presented and given the usual

fine. The town immediately voted "to pay all the costs and save the selectmen harmless." But the selectmen petitioned the court for a remission of the fine: "We, your petitioners, humbly showeth that the selectmen of Weare have been presented to the Court of General Sessions of the peace in said county for not keeping a grammar school, by which means we are liable to pay a fine of £10 for one month neglect. The town considering their scattered situation as well as their inability concluded it would be more to the advantage of said town to hire several masters that could teach good English and at such seasons as they could reap most advantage from said schools, was the reason there was not a grammar school hired as the law directs. No man in said town required it. Therefore, we, your petitioners, humbly request you would release and remit said fine. Your petitioners shall ever pray."

This petition was granted, and the town escaped at a cost of nine shillings, the expense of a messenger to take the petition to the court.

New Hampshire was rather more lenient and human in the enforcement of the law than Massachusetts. She recognized that local conditions often rendered it inoperative, and she preferred to have good English schools reaching all the children, rather than one school reaching only the few. The growth into the district school in this state was an easy transition from the letter of the law to its practical adaptation to different localities.

Connecticut

In Connecticut, besides the four county grammar schools and the two at Windsor and Farmington, none seem to have been established. The law of 1700 ordered English schools for all the year in towns of seventy families, and for half the year where there were less. The laws of 1712 and 1717, placing the schools in the care of the parishes, diminished still further the probability of increasing the grammar schools.

The law of 1776, allowing towns and parishes to divide into districts, to make their own regulations, and to draw their own school money, fastened the district-school system upon this state earlier than upon any other in New England. The grammar-school idea did not flourish here. It was like wheat falling upon stony ground; it had no root and withered away. The grammar school was not mentioned in the town records after the earliest settlements.

Conclusions

In Massachusetts the law of 1647 ordered that any town of one hundred families should establish a grammar school, and imposed a penalty of five pounds for nonperformance of this legal duty. This penalty was afterwards increased to ten pounds, and still later to twenty pounds, if the town had two hundred families, while a town of five hundred families was required to maintain two grammar schools and two writing schools. This continued in force until the law of 1789 lessened the burden. Meantime the term "grammar school" had practically disappeared from use, the district-school growth had taken away the central authority, the old form of school had become forgotten, and there was fastened upon this state the district-school system, which required fifty years of strenuous effort to dislodge. The grammar school had practically disappeared from New England at the end of the eighteenth century.

III

THE MOVING SCHOOL AND SCHOOL DISTRICTS

The moving school has been mentioned in the preceding section, but it needs more extended treatment to show its frequency and its connection with the future district-school movement. In the desire to make the grammar school more effective and possibly more popular, it was not kept, as at Boston, in the center of the town all the time. In many places town conflicts were frequent between the ardent advocates of a central grammar school and those who wished and believed that it should be made as far-reaching as possible. One can imagine from the votes what a flood of town-meeting oratory must have flowed forth on the question, though only the resulting action is recorded. The struggle in Worcester was typical.

In 1731 it was voted "that the town will maintain a free school for the year ensuing and that it be a moving school into the several quarters of the town." The next year this moving school was left to the discretion of the selectmen. In 1735 "Mr. Richard Rogers, our present schoolmaster, having this day fulfilled his last year, it is agreed that the said Mr. Richard Rogers forthwith repair to the house of Mr. Palmer Golding and there keep the school till further orders." It was kept a moving school until 1752 when it became stationary until 1759; this included the time that John Adams was master. In 1759 it was voted "that the school be a moving school the present year and to be kept in the same way and manner that the school used to be kept in before March, 1752." It changed frequently from one form to the other until finally, in 1799, it was voted

"that the grammar school in the future be kept as a moving school until otherwise ordered by the town, to be kept three months in each district beginning with the center district and then to the other districts in rotation as the selectmen shall direct until it shall have gone through the town." It was kept a moving school until 1808. The conflict had been carried on for more than two generations.

The records of other towns show that the moving school was very common. At Andover, in 1720, a schoolmaster was engaged to keep school in each precinct. Three years later one was engaged to keep in each precinct "according to each precinct's pay." There is this record of 1729: "Philemon Robbins came first to keep a school in Andover and began his school in the south end of the town and continued there three months, and then went behind the pond in the first day of December and continued there until the last of January, and then was sent and continued in the middle of the town into the last of February next, and then was sent behind the pond in the third day of March, and to continue there fourteen nights, and then the 16th of March was returned to the middle of the town and continued there nine weeks."

At Plymouth, in 1696, it was "ordered by the town that the upper society should have the schoolmaster the next quarter." This was the beginning of the moving school in that town. In 1722 the action was more comprehensive, when it was voted "that the grammar school in this town be a movable school."

Beverly, in 1752, referring to the east part of the town, voted "that the grammar school should be kept in that part of the town in proportion to what they paid towards taxes."

Weston, Massachusetts, in 1755, voted "that they will not keep the grammar school in more than three places in said town for the future." In 1764 there was a petition that the grammar school be "kept in the four quarters of this town

only." It is related of the school in Concord, Massachusetts, that it was kept in the house where the master boarded, and "when he changed his quarters, the school moved with him."

Duxbury, in 1741, voted "that their school should be kept in course as to the quarterly placing of it, to go round with the sun as it has been kept ever since the said town were provided with a grammar school, till two full years were completed and expired, and then to begin in that part of the town that they ordered it should first be kept, when the said town divided themselves into four parts concerning their school." Later in the same year they voted "that the said town should continue to stand divided into four parts or quarters . . . for the term of twenty years next ensuing." They also voted "that the said school shall be a free school for the whole town, for any of the said inhabitants to send their children into any of the above mentioned quarters where the school may be kept."

In Falmouth, in 1763, a committee was chosen "to open a grammar school and procure a teacher, moving the school from place to place so as to give all parts the benefit." Wenham, as late as 1770, voted to establish a grammar school and chose a committee "to provide a schoolmaster and to apportion said school according to the tax in this town." Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1730, voted "that a schoolhouse be built in each quarter of the town, the schoolmaster to hold schools in them according to the money raised in each." Previous to this they had voted that "the public school shall be kept at the meetinghouse five months from date, the other six months in the out parts of the town where convenient." In 1737 they voted, "There shall be three schools, one of which shall be a grammar school, the others English schools, the grammar master to go from one school to another."

This latter vote represents the concession usually made to those who believed that the legal grammar school did not

fill the educational needs of the times. Such concessions became common throughout the colonies. Hingham, in 1732, established two schools, one a grammar school, the other a writing school; the first was stationary, the other was "to be kept seven months within the said year in the schoolhouse in the east precinct and four months in the south parish." In 1781 a committee recommended "one school to be kept in the center of the north parish the year through, the west end of the north parish to have six months schooling and the Plain to have six months schooling; the south parish to have a school the year through, and to be shifted so as to accommodate the parish, with liberty for the inhabitants to send their children to either of the schools as shall best accommodate them."

At Braintree, in 1716, besides the grammar school there was voted a reading and writing school at the south end for "one half of the year, each year, yearly." At North Brookfield, in 1765, districts were formed according to their proportion of the school money, "but any such remote tax-payer whose son inclines to learn the tongues other than the English may have liberty at the middle school, they having a grammar schoolmaster." Medfield, in 1760, voted "to divide the school into three districts for the term of twenty years; any of the inhabitants of each district to have liberty to send any child to the grammar school in the middle district to learn the Latin tongue and the mathematical arts." At Newbury, in 1736, the first and third parishes both petitioned the General Court "to have liberty to raise money in order to keep a grammar school for themselves and be freed from paying to any other school." This was granted by the court.

Sudbury, in 1701, chose two masters who were to "teach children to read and write and cast accounts." They were paid thirty shillings each for the year. These schools were in addition to the grammar school. In 1781 the grammar

school was kept in a house near the meetinghouse, but the town also granted "for the support of a reading and writing school forty-eight pounds, and ordered the same to be kept in the other four schoolhouses in the same proportion." Springfield, in 1791, divided the town into nine districts, and in addition an English school was established in the center "to accommodate such scholars as the selectmen thought not admissible to the grammar school."

Northampton, in 1749, dissatisfied with the school conditions, appointed a committee of three "to consider with respect to the better regulation of our school, to project some way that our school for the future may be more advantageous and profitable for the education of our children." The committee reported "that the town erect a new schoolhouse near Elisha Pomeroy's trading shop, that shall be warm and convenient for writers, grammar scholars and arithmeticians, as it's likely they may be in town to be instructed, and that there be for the future two schoolmasters maintained in town in the winter season, in the middle of the town, viz., — one to which grammar scholars and arithmeticians and writers shall be sent, the other to which the readers or English scholars shall be sent; and in the summer season, there be but one school maintained, viz., — the grammar school, to which scholars of all sorts shall be sent until the season grows cold, and that then there be two again as aforesaid; and that for the future any provision for schools in the remote parts of the town be omitted."

There had been district schools for several years, but this report, which was accepted, removed them all. "When the people in the outskirts began to realize the true position in which they had been placed, by this decision, that they must either do without schools or send their children to the center of the town, they rallied and at the following March meeting the former vote was reconsidered and rescinded." They then voted to appoint "some meet person to assist the

grammar schoolmaster in teaching the writers and English readers, and that English schoolmasters shall be provided for the second precinct and the Farms, and that the school money already granted to the second precinct be used for the paying for the schooling of the youths of said precinct."

In the Weston town warrant for 1767 was this article: "To know the minds of the town whether they will provide four writing schools or more, two months or more, in the four quarters of the town in the winter season, the year ensuing from this time." The record quaintly says, "Passed in the negative." The next year there were two petitions, one asking for three schools in the winter season, to be kept four months each, one each in the center and in the north and south sections; the other "to provide a grammar schoolmaster for one year ensuing, to be settled and supported according to law, and also to provide two other suitable persons qualified to instruct the youth in reading, writing and ciphering." The latter was granted.

Plymouth, in 1716, voted that "three free schools be set up and erected in the town, one at each end to teach and instruct in reading and writing, and one to be kept in the middle of the town to be a grammar school, . . . and the said schools shall be for the term of five years."

Many votes creating the moving school do not specify whether the school was a grammar or a writing school; they all indicate a wish to have the schools reach the pupils. Without previous experience to guide them many towns, in being strictly just to all parts, made very curious divisions of the time; and while each section received its full allotment of this time, the individual children had short school terms and very long vacations. Sometimes the division was left to the selectmen and sometimes to a committee.

At Harwich, in 1709, the selectmen were directed "to settle the schoolmaster as to his several removes and settlements in the town for the present year." In 1719 they voted "to

divide the town into societies, each to have the benefit of the school its part of the time, and no society shall break in upon it for the time being." In 1725 a large committee was appointed "to settle the school and proportion the six removes, both as to the number of families and children belonging to each remove, till the school hath gone once around the town." The various removes were arranged as follows:

First remove, 16 families, 29 children, school 6 months 1 week
Second remove, 25 families, 55 children, school 8 months 3 weeks
Third remove, 22 families, 56 children, school 8 months 3 weeks
Fourth remove, 25 families, 47 children, school 8 months 1 week
Fifth remove, 14 families, 32 children, school 4 months
Sixth remove, 26 families, 35 children, school 6 months 1 week

"The school shall begin at the westernmost part of the town first, and so remove eastward." By this arrangement each district had the school once every three and a half years.

Barnstable, in 1732, appointed a committee "to regulate the schools for the time to come." They reported "that when the two precincts have had equal time in the town's schoolmaster, they shall cast lots to determine in which part the school shall be first kept, and so by turn for four years; and that in the east precinct it shall be each year first near the meetinghouse 42 weeks, and near Thomas Hadaway's 10 weeks; in the west precinct near John Howland's 33 weeks, and then by Benjamin Goodspeed's 14 weeks, and then by James Lovell's 4 weeks and 4 days." Ten years later a scheme was voted whereby the schools were arranged for four years and five months, and this time was divided among eight places at from two to ten months each.

In 1734 Gloucester had seven districts, and it took three years for the school to make the circuit: "Each district was to provide a convenient schoolhouse, and in case of neglect to do so was to lose its turn for three years." In 1745 Norwich had seven schools, varying in time from one month sixteen days to five and a half months in a place; it took

twenty-one months to go around. The same year Middletown voted for the school "to keep one half the time in the east schoolhouse and the other half of the time in the west schoolhouse, and to be left to the judgment of said committee when to alter from one house to the other."

Brunswick, in 1742, referring to the schoolmaster, authorized a committee "to appoint him the time and places for keeping the school in the several parts of the town, as they shall think proper." Amesbury, in 1741, appointed a committee of three to hire a schoolmaster and direct "the time and place where the school shall be kept at the west end of the town"; a similar committee was appointed for the east end. In 1753 it was voted "that the schools might be kept in each parish where the inhabitants directed." In 1796 there were two masters, and the school money was apportioned among the districts.

Other towns took the more rational method of dividing the school year equitably among the different sections, but here again absolute integrity produced curious time divisions. Perhaps the most curious is found in a report of the selectmen of Harvard in 1725:

"Reckoned with Mr. Edward Broughton for his service for keeping school and find he hath kept school on the Neck 150 days, and at Still River 75 days, and he hath received of the town treasurer £27–1s." That same year the school time was divided as follows: "Stephen's Hill 104 295/850 days, Bare Hill 82 745/850 days, on the Neck 177 660/850 days." There was but one schoolmaster and he went to these sections in turn.

A division almost as curious is found in a Marlboro record for 1745. The time was divided by a committee: "West end six weeks three days and 2/3; northwest, two weeks four days; easterly, sixteen weeks one day and 1/3; northerly, seven weeks no days and 2/3; east, five weeks four days and 2/3; west, thirteen weeks four days and 3/4."

There was no uniformity among towns or, in fact, in the votes of any one town, as to how these divisions should be made. The tendency in New England to do all town business in open town meeting where every freeman might have his voice and his vote was very strong. Power was delegated very sparingly and cautiously. Committees were not generally formed for school purposes, but whenever towns did not directly control school affairs they were transferred to the power of the selectmen. The records show that most of the towns directed the moving school by popular vote. The following show how different towns clung to this during successive years.

Malden, in 1702, voted the school "to be kept at four several places at four several times, one quarter of a year in a place." In 1711 a school was arranged for six months, "the first four months at Mr. Parson's house and then the school shall be removed into some house towards the north end of the town, the other two months."

Amesbury, in 1711, voted "that the school should be kept the first four months at the meetinghouse, the next four months at the Pond's Hill fort, and the last four months at Left. Foot's fort or thereabouts."

At Sandwich, in 1713, the schoolmaster was to make "three removes each year; teaching in the center four months, in Scusset four, and in Spring Hill four, each year." As late as 1769 it was voted "that the schoolmaster shall go through the town as heretofore with his school, once a year." Framingham, in 1714, voted "that the school be kept the present winter season in five places in town," and the next year they voted "that the school be kept nine weeks on the south side of the river and eight weeks on the north side." The next year they had another vote "to have a moving school kept in the four quarters of the town, four weeks at each place." The system of moving schools was unbroken in this town until 1750. In 1724 the selectmen were

instructed to treat with a schoolmaster if he would accept their custom "to remove into the several quarters of the town."

Boxford, in 1716, engaged a master to teach "in the six parts of the town." For some years the school was kept in private houses, and any one section had the school only one month in the year. Leicester voted its first school in 1731; this was for only three months, in three different places, one month in a place. Bedford, in 1733, voted "to settle a moving school," and in 1742 "the school moved into the four quarters of the town." Lunenburg, in 1737, voted that the school "be moved to four places"; the time at each place to be "proportioned according to the number of scholars." Two years later they engaged a "lawful schoolmaster" for three months, six weeks in one house and six weeks in another. North Brookfield, in 1739, voted "to have two schoolmasters for four months in the winter season, to be moved into the several parts of the town." Greenfield, in 1767, had seven districts and but one schoolmaster, "and he to move to each district according to the proportion."

Hanover had the usual moving schools, and in 1784 located them in the four quarters of the town; they also voted "that one quarter shall not send their children into another school." Colchester, Connecticut, in 1717, voted "to maintain a school the whole year, and that it be kept at three several places; each several place where the school is kept shall have the school kept there so long as their proportion of estates is in the common list."

At Columbia, Connecticut, in 1739, the Congregational parish voted "to keep a school of two schoolmasters for the winter months for writing and reading, and to be removed from place to place for the best advantage of the parish in general."

In a good many instances the selectmen are clothed with discretionary power. In Medfield, in 1718, the school was "to be kept in three parts of the town, some time at one

part and some time at another as the selectmen shall order it." Previous to this the school had been kept in the center for the benefit of the whole town; in 1733 the time was divided, two thirds for the center, and one third for the north and south ends. At Sutton, in 1731, the school was "to be kept at the discretion of the selectmen in four places in said town, one month in a place." Manchester, Massachusetts, in 1738, voted a tax for a free school which was "to be removed to the four quarters of the town," but the time and place were left to the discretion of the selectmen. Chester, New Hampshire, in 1737, voted "that the selectmen shall remove the said schoolmaster to the several parts of the town as shall be convenient." Windsor, Connecticut, in 1698, voted "the school is to be kept at the several places agreed on by the selectmen."

In 1717 Billerica empowered the selectmen "to order and appoint in what parts of the town the school shall be kept and how long at a place." The next year the master was again employed, provided he would move into the several parts of the town. This was a common vote and voiced another difficulty in the maintenance of these schools, as many of the college graduates, like John Adams, refused to accept a moving school.

Haverhill, in 1711, ordered the selectmen to hire a schoolmaster "to move quarterly to such places as the selectmen agree to, as shall be most convenient for the inhabitants of the town." No one could be found who would move, but some years later there was a schoolmaster who was willing "to move for the town's benefit to the several parts of the town." Bristol, in 1699, wanted two districts and asked the schoolmaster "to condescend to be and abide with Mr. Allen or thereabouts" one third of the year, and the remainder of the year in town, but he refused.

Salaries were frequently affected by the kind of school, whether it were moving or stationary. In 1737 a Braintree

schoolmaster "agreed to teach the school the full year of twelve months for £56 if he moved four months in the year in any part of the precinct from the schoolhouse, and if not, then he is to have but £50." At Woburn, in 1706, the schoolmaster agreed "also when he went into the different quarters of the town to keep school, the inhabitants of each quarter should find him a horse to ride to meeting on." As late as 1760 the master petitioned for an extra allowance "in consideration of the fatigue he hath had by reason of there being so many removes." This petition was denied and was never renewed.

The grammar school, whether stationary or moving, did not supply educational opportunities for all pupils; many lived at too great distances to attend; many parents had strong convictions that the English, or writing, schools supplied the real needs better. Hence school matters occasioned as stormy scenes in the ancient town meeting as they ever have in the modern. These conflicts went on from generation to generation.

The following account from the Plymouth records is a good illustration:

In 1714 a committee was appointed "with reference to the promoting of a school for learning of children at each end of the town." In 1716 three schools were established, the one in the center a grammar school, the others at the ends "to teach and instruct in reading and writing." But, like Banquo's ghost, the matter would not down, for a very strenuous meeting was held in 1725, of which this report exists: "At said meeting, there was a long debate about a school or schools, and after some time there was a vote called whether they would have three schools and there being a great assembly, it was something difficult to distinguish the vote by holding up the hand, and it was thereupon ordered by the moderator that the assembly should withdraw out of the house and then to come in and pass by the clerk and declare whether

they were for one or three schools, and it was voted by a majority of votes that there should be one school, and there being a great tumult in the meeting and the people difficult to be settled, the moderator therefore adjourned the present meeting to the first day of March next." At this adjourned meeting a compromise was effected ; a grammar school was established in the middle of the town, and it was "also at the same time voted that each end of the town which for some years past had a woman's school among them, be allowed to deduct out of the town's treasury what they are annually voted or taxed for the grammar school, and no more, towards the maintaining a school among themselves." As a result of this vote one part of the town applied to be incorporated into a separate town. This was granted, and the town of Kingston was formed. The records are full of the differences between the various parts of the town over the schools. The matter came up every year, and finally a committee was appointed in 1736 which made a full report. "The report of the committee about the schools was read in the town meeting and accepted. Voted that the grammar school be fixed in the middle of the town where it now is, and the ends of the town, namely Ele River, Monument Ponds, and Agawam, draw all their part of the money they pay by rate or tax towards the support of schools among themselves, and for no other use, and there be two or three suitable persons chosen in each part of the town to take care to supply themselves with suitable schools, and to draw their part of the money yearly and every year during the term of seven years, provided they keep schooling among themselves sufficient to draw the money."

It is easy to see how out of conflicts of this kind the district system was eventually evolved. Votes in many towns show that those living out of the center were not afraid to voice their dissent to paying taxes and receiving no returns. When Newbury, in 1653, voted to establish a school in the center of the town at the meetinghouse, seventeen men

"desired to have their dissents recorded," as all of them resided so far from the meetinghouse "that their children could not conveniently attend the school." In Springfield, in 1706, two men had their dissents recorded.

For several years Springfield struggled to satisfy the desires of the people living in the outer parts of the town. In 1702 Longmeadow made an appeal to the mother town for certain changes; among other arguments advanced was this: "And also our children are thereby deprived of the benefits of instruction by the schoolmaster in the town." Two years later "the committee for the precinct on the west side of the great river in behalf of their precinct did petition that the town would either erect and establish a school on their side of the great river, or else acquit them of paying any rate for the town's school on the east side of the great river." The next year "it was ordered to pay out of the town's treasury an addition of sixteen pounds, to encourage the inhabitants on the west side of the great river and of the Longmeadow, to promote the learning of their children for the present year; and the selectmen are to see to the disposing of said sum according to their best discretion."

Again the next year "the inhabitants on the west side of the river presented a petition to the town that they would allow them support for encouragement of their schools:— and it was voted that if they keep a school, to continue the vote of 1705." After this year money was generally voted to the different districts as they were formed. Later, in the same year, it was "proposed to nominate some men to answer the petition of the inhabitants on the west side of the river at the present General Court, respecting a school for them; and it was disliked. . . . And it was agreed and voted that the said west side inhabitants have liberty to get a schoolmaster to teach their children to read and write, and that the charge be carried on by the town in the same manner as the school affair is carried on on the east side of the great river.

according as the law directs; and the like vote was passed for the inhabitants of the Longmeadow."

Again in 1708 "it was voted at this meeting and concluded to ratify the vote of the town at the meeting May 30, 1708, respecting the school affair on the west side of the great river, and further that the selectmen of this town of Springfield be empowered to provide them, the said west side inhabitants, a meet person to teach their children to read and to write, and that the inhabitants of said west side of the great river have liberty to add from among themselves some one man to join with the said selectmen to carry the affair, that the children of said west side inhabitants may be taught to read and to write, and that what the scholars' part to pay falls short of satisfying the charge, it be paid as other town charges are paid."

In 1709 "it was also voted to allow Capt. Thomas Colton 30 shillings to encourage or to enable him to provide schooling for Longmeadow for this winter, which allowance if it occasion strife or disturbance amongst his neighbors at Longmeadow, he promises to forgive the said town's allowance of 30 shillings." Finally in 1716 the town was divided into six precincts, and these votes were passed: "It was further voted that each of the places above mentioned shall be allowed precincts respecting of schools. It was further voted that they should be continued precincts for three years. Voted that every precinct shall pay to their own school. Voted that that precinct which doth neglect keeping a school, that money which is raised upon them for the supporting of the schools, shall return to the town treasury."

At the annual town meeting for 1712, in Haverhill, several persons applied "for an abatement of their taxes for the ministry and the school," basing their claim on the fact that they lived at a great distance from town and had much difficulty in getting in. The town voted "to abate one half of their ministry tax." The same year petitions were received from

two parts of the town, praying for a school "one quarter of the year, . . . that they might have the benefit of having their children brought up to learning as well as the children of those that live in the center of the town." This was granted.

At Guilford, Connecticut, in 1717, a school was established in that part called the Neck. In the petition for it the signers state that they have paid for the maintenance of a school and "by reason of their remoteness from the town schoolhouse have had but very little or no benefit by said school, and being by Divine Goodness blessed with a considerable number of children" they ask for a school of their own.

In 1738 one of the districts of Hampton prayed "that the petitioners be *exorated* from paying to the support of a school at the old town of Hampton no longer than they support a writing and reading schoolmaster among themselves."

A common form of petition from residents of outlying districts is this from Swanzey in 1775: "We, the subscribers, living very remote from any district where we might be convenient to a school for our children, do humbly petition that the town would vote us off as a district and grant that the money which we pay towards maintaining a school in this town may be laid out for schooling in the said district as near the center as may be convenient. . . . Voted the above request be complied with during the town's pleasure."

The want of coherency in these early school conditions is seen fully as well in their nomenclature as in their method, or lack of method, of control. While we look back on the schools located in separate parts of the town as district schools, and while much is said about the old district system, the term as a final term grew out of a long series of votes in towns covering a wide area. There was no common term by which the parts of a town were designated. It ran through a whole gamut of expressions, among which "squadron" was very common. One town historian has said that the use of this term came after the Revolution, and probably was

derived from the military term, but the word was used in this sense long before the Revolution. It is a curious use of the word, and it is found in the old records both as a noun and as a verb.

Yarmouth, as early as 1693, voted that the school should be kept "in five squadrons." At Bridgewater, in 1675, "squadron was used in reference to building a fortification around the meetinghouse, each portion was to build one side, or end." Worcester, in 1777, voting on highways, used this: "That the assessors squadron out to each surveyor the persons that shall work under them." Hubbardston, in 1771, appointed a committee "to squadron out the school places"; and ten years later there was another committee "to squadron out the town for schooling."

Worcester, in 1740, voted a sum of money "to be equally divided among the quarters or *skirts* as usual," and as late as 1795 a committee was appointed "to district the town into school squadrons." Middletown, in 1754, voted "that the town be divided into two squadrons, one house in each squadron." Fitzwilliam, in 1779, chose a committee of five "to provide schools in each squadron." Temple, New Hampshire, in 1775, chose a committee "to squadron out the town for building schoolhouses; voted to divide the town into five squadrons." In 1792 district number three voted "that the committee acquaint Mr. Sile Stickney that the squadron desires him not to send any of his children to their school the ensuing winter on account of the small-pox." In 1762 Marlboro passed a vote in which the word was spelled "squadrants."

Groton used the word "angles" for a good many years, but later on the selectmen were appointed a committee "to regulate the several squadrons on the outside." About 1790 the word "district" appears in their votes instead of "angles" or "squadrons." In many towns the votes take the form of "in the several parts of the town," or "in the four quarters of the town."

Some records show odd terms used; as Cambridge, in 1737, voted "that £12 be paid each wing in our town to defray the charge of their schools in the winter season." Bridgewater, in 1747, voted to divide the precinct into three school "ricks." The same expression was used in 1784, and in 1795 it was spelled "wricks." Easton, in 1746, used the same term when they had "four quarters and a central school rick." Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1788, voted "that the town be classed in three classes." Francestown, the next year, voted "every class may draw the proportionable part of the money that is raised by the town for the use of the school. Voted that the town shall class themselves within one fortnight." To avoid negligence a committee was appointed "to class them" if necessary. Peterborough, in 1789, voted "the *diocese* should not send to any but their own, and that the said schools should be under the direction of the selectmen." In 1790 they voted "to have but four dioceses." This is a common word in the votes of this town. In Oxford, in 1775, the divisions which had been called "squadrons" were then called "wards." Framingham, in 1749, divided the town into "center and eight outskirts." Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1742, voted "to hire a *standing* school in the town for the year ensuing, and that the several branches of the town have their share of the money allowed to them in proportion to what they pay."

A variety of this school phraseology is seen in a succession of votes in Amherst, New Hampshire. In 1762 it was voted "to keep a school this year in five divisions, the selectmen to divide." In 1771 it was voted that the inhabitants "keep as many schools as they think fit, and each family that does keep a school shall be entitled to draw their proportion of the money above granted." The town had appropriated twenty pounds. In 1779 they voted "that the town be divided into squadrons at the discretion of the selectmen, that the inhabitants may be the better accommodated with a school, and that

each squadron have their part of the money that shall be raised for schooling provided they lay it out for that purpose." It was also voted that "the schools be kept by each neighborhood classing together." In 1787 they voted "that if any district should not school out their money within one year from the time it was granted, it should be paid into the town treasury for the use of the town."

"Society," "precinct," "division," "parish," were all used in this attempt to define school limits. During all this time "district" was also commonly used; it became finally the accepted word, was incorporated into the law, and "district" it has remained ever since.

The division lines were often indefinite; the center of reckoning was usually the "school in the middle of the town" with a radius of from one to two miles. Lunenburg, in 1740, had one schoolhouse, but "all the inhabitants of the said town that lives above two miles distant, to be estimated as the roads go," were to draw their part of the school money, though all might send to this school if they so pleased. Swanzey, New Hampshire, voted that persons living more than two miles away from school places might "draw the money which they pay to the school rate this year, to lay out as they think proper with the approbation of the selectmen." This was in 1773, and the next year the town was divided into six districts, "but the school in each district shall be free for any persons in the town to send their children to at any time." Marlboro, in 1745, voted "that all families that live more than a mile and a half from either of the two schoolhouses where the school has been kept the past year shall draw their proportion of money out of the school rate."

Groton, in 1741, voted that the school should be kept in five places, six weeks in a place. In 1745 a committee appointed to consider school matters reported as follows: "The committee appointed to consider where the school shall be kept for the year ensuing have met and taken the affair

under consideration and find it not possible to settle it so that every one may reap an equal benefit; but humbly offer the opinion that it may be most for the advantage of the town that the school may be kept for the year ensuing in the middle of the town, and that all such as live more than two miles or thereabouts shall be so far eased as to embody amongst themselves, and upon their employing either a master or school dame, shall draw the whole of what they pay to the school rate in said town." Three years later the grammar school was kept in four places, but people living more than two miles from the school could do as they did in 1745. In 1758 they appropriated "twenty pounds for reading and writing schools in the several angles of the town," and a committee designated the places and apportioned the money. Twenty years later they voted "that the children be numbered through the town, males unmarried from four years old to twenty-one, females unmarried from four years old to eighteen, and the whole of the money raised this year for the schools to be equally divided upon the polls. A circle one mile and a half distance from the schoolhouse in the middle of the town to be reckoned as the middle squadron, and the selectmen to be a committee to proportion the school money."

Worcester, in 1760, voted "that the schools be kept in the same way and manner as they were the year 1758, that those living within one and one half miles of the meetinghouse, pay to the center school." Chester, New Hampshire, in 1759, voted "that for conveniency of schooling, three quarters of a mile round the old meetinghouse shall have the privilege of sending to school there."

In other towns points of the compass seemed sufficiently definite; there are many votes like the following: At Milton, in 1669, "Ensign Ebenezer Tucker was chosen schoolmaster for the west end of the town, to teach children and youth to read and write and he accepted the same. Thomas Vose was chosen schoolmaster for the east end of the town, to

teach children and youth to write, he accepting the same." Beverly, in 1749, voted the sum of thirty-two pounds, old tenor, "to the inhabitants of the east part of the town, to enable them to keep a school four months in the year." Brookline, in 1760, excused the south part of the town "from any tax towards other schooling of the town as long as the said inhabitants keep up and maintain such schooling."

Medfield, in 1733, voted "to divide the time when the school shall be kept as to two thirds parts of the time in a schoolhouse in the middle of the town and one third part of the time in the schoolhouses that are built by particular persons at the north and south ends of the town, free from charge for house room at said houses for twenty years next ensuing." In 1756 they voted "to set off that part of the town south of South Plain brook including Thomas Clark, for the south side school, and to use their own money. Voted to set off the north school as far as Jesse Pratt's, they to have their own money." In 1760 they voted "to divide the school into three districts for the term of twenty years."

Duxbury, in 1735, voted "that their school should be kept in four places or parts of the town annually." They also voted "to have two schoolmasters to serve half a year, one schoolmaster to serve one end of said town, and the other to serve at the other end of said town, except the northerly end of said town agrees to have two schoolmasters among themselves for one quarter of a year, instead of one schoolmaster for half a year above mentioned."

At other times districts are designated by local names. Hampton, in 1699, voted "that if the Falls side, so called, in Hampton, do provide and pay a schoolmaster for the teaching of their children, they shall be exempted from paying to the schoolmaster on the town side, so called."

In 1733 Harwich had a moving school in the north part of the town, and ordered "that Potanumaquint people and the people on the south side shall have the school money

that they are assessed, to lay out in the support of schools, as they and the selectmen shall agree." Rehoboth, in 1712, voted "to raise £30 annually for the support of schools, of which the neighborhood of Palmer's river should have £10 and be obliged to maintain an English school, and the old part of the town and Watchemocket should have the remaining £20 and be obliged to maintain a grammar school."

The first mention of a teacher in Portland is in 1733, when Robert Bayley was hired "to keep school six months upon the Neck, three months at Purpooduck, and three on the north side of Back Cove." Deerfield, in 1750, voted "to allow the people of Green River a schoolmaster two months provided they can procure a suitable room to keep the school in." The next year they voted "that a school be kept at Green River three months in the winter season, this year, and that the school be omitted three months in the town in the summer." Londonderry, in 1737, voted "to employ one master to keep two months in the south range, two months in the double range, two months in the Aikens range, two months in the back range, two months in the English range, one month in the Park, and one month in Canada."

Indefinite district lines evidently led to local jealousies, especially when each school depended on the amount of tax the district paid. To eke out the scanty schooling, parents sent their children into more than their own district. Towns took up the matter, deliberated upon it, and made decisions. Windham, New Hampshire, in 1790, voted "to class the town into seven classes. Also voted that no class shall interfere with another by sending scholars out of one class into another." Weare, in 1780, voted "that no person shall absent from one district to another without the consent of the major part of the district or of the selectmen." This evidently did not prove effective, for, in 1786, they also voted "that no district shall not infringe upon any other."

In Connecticut, after the schools were placed in the hands of the ecclesiastical parishes, it was not an uncommon occurrence for rival parishes to refuse to receive children from any other parish than their own.

Sutton, in 1745, voted "that one school shall be kept in each parish according to the tax paid by each, and that each parish have liberty to send to either school." But the next generation was not so liberal, for, in 1773, they voted, "No schoolmaster employed in keeping school in any particular squadron of this town, grammar schoolmaster excepted, shall instruct any scholars sent to them from other squadrons."

Worcester, however, went to the other extreme and passed the most precise and inclusive vote that can be found anywhere. In 1795, after much changing of district lines, they voted "that notwithstanding the above votes, if any individual or individuals in town find it for his or their interest to leave his or their school district and join any other in town, that he or they may have leave, provided he or they make known his or their election before the first of March next, by giving information to the town clerk in writing, mentioning the district that he or they have a desire to belong to."

In arranging for the support of these schools, again there were no landmarks of experience, and a trail had to be blazed. A common method was to give each district a certain sum of money outright, as in Woburn in 1760: "They would allow to each of the extreme parts of the first parish in said town the sum of £33 6s. 8d., old tenor, or equivalent in lawful money, to be draughted out of the treasury by each part, provided they appropriate said money in hiring some suitable person to keep school for the instruction of their children, before the first day of March next." Similar votes were passed for some fifteen years. Weston also, in 1796, voted "that each of the school districts in town may draw out of the treasury the sum of twenty dollars for the purpose of providing a woman's school the ensuing summer": and voted

"that ninety dollars be appropriated to each district to procure reading and writing masters the ensuing winter." Dover, New Hampshire, in 1767, voted "that £40 lawful money be raised for the support of schools for the year ensuing for the several parts of the town, and to be at the discretion of the selectmen." And in 1776 they voted "that the selectmen lay out £50 lawful money in English schools in five districts of the town, instead of having a grammar school this present year."

But the commonest way was that which was the most unfair to the children, affording schools according to the wealth of the district, and dividing the school money "proportionably." Dudley, in 1739, voted "to raise £20 of money to defray the charges of schooling, the center part of the town to have their part of the above said money, and also each end of the town to draw their proportion of the money and to lay it out in schooling their children." Weare, New Hampshire, in 1777, voted "that all districts should employ masters or mistresses to suit themselves, and when they had done so to apply to the selectmen for their part of the school money." In 1779 it was again voted that "every district shall hire school masters or mistresses to teach their children, and that all delinquent districts that neglect or refuse to hire masters or mistresses shall forfeit their proportion of the school money to the town."

Stratford, Connecticut, in 1717, voted "that the farmers shall have the use of their part of the 40 shillings per £1000 allowed by law, for seven years ensuing, provided they educate their children according to law." Brookline, in 1714, voted "that the sums of money raised for the keeping of schools at the three parts of the town be distributed and paid to the school which each man shall improve"; and in 1723 they voted "that all the people that live in each precinct, both their polls and estates, shall pay to the school in the precinct where they live." Dedham, in 1752, "agreeable to vote of

town at May meeting that the schools should be kept in proportion to the tax in each precinct," divided the time thus:

First Precinct	166 days
The South	79 days
Clapboard Trees	67 days
West Precinct	52 days

Harpswell, Maine, in 1760, voted "that each part of the Neck and also the Island should draw their proportionate part of the school money that was collected." Portland, in 1762, voted "that each district should draw money in proportion to the taxes it paid, provided a school were kept in it the whole year." Hollis, New Hampshire, in 1757, granted four hundred pounds, old tenor, for school purposes and voted "that it be granted to every suitable number of persons that shall agree together in any part of the town, to have their proportion for keeping a school among themselves, and those that don't join, their money is to be paid into the town treasury for a school in the middle of the town." Watertown, in 1683, agreed "that those who dwell on the west side of Stony brook be freed from school tax of 1683, that they may be better able to teach among themselves." In 1700 they voted "that the Farmers' precinct by paying £20 be freed from any other school charges this year."

In 1756 North Brookfield voted "that the school be kept in the several precincts in this town, each precinct to have its equal proportion and to be stated by the inhabitants of each precinct in their own respective precincts." Under this vote the second precinct "assumed the right to levy a tax on its own inhabitants for the support of its own schools." The tax was not paid "as not being in the power of a precinct to grant money for any use but to build meetinghouses and support ministers." In 1760 an appeal was made to the General Court praying "that the constables may be empowered to collect said tax." This was granted, and in 1765 districts were formed with their proportion of school money.

Cohasset, formerly the second precinct of Hingham, in 1721 asked for its share of the school tax; this was evidently granted, for a committee of three men was chosen "to take care concerning the school and to take the money from the town of Hingham, and to dispose of it as followeth; one third part of it to be paid to a school dame for teaching the children to read, and two thirds of the money to be disposed of to teach the children to write and cipher." The precinct had no part of the school money for several years after this, and after many requests to the mother town, which were denied, petitioned the General Court, "praying that they may have the benefit of the said school, to be kept within their precinct one third of the year, or that they may be exempted from paying to the support of that school and allowed to provide a schoolmaster to instruct their children in reading and writing." Hingham did not wait for an answer, but arranged the matter to the satisfaction of all. In 1728 the precincts were allowed to draw their proportion of the school money, provided they "employ the same for and towards the support of a school among themselves and for no other use." In 1763 it was voted "that the inhabitants of each parish should draw their just proportion of money raised the year ensuing, for the use of the schools, and improve the same as they shall determine by a major vote of their inhabitants aforesaid." In 1773–1774, after Cohasset had become a separate town, the school money was divided among the districts in two ways, according to the amount paid, and according to the number of children.

Chester, New Hampshire, generally divided the school money according to the amounts paid by the parishes or districts. It was disposed to be perfectly fair, as is evidenced by this vote of 1763: "That it be left to the selectmen to enquire into and see how much is justly due to the north parish, so called, for their proportion of the school money raised in this town for three years past, and if they have not

had their share, then to deliver the same to them, provided they lay out the same for schooling among themselves: and also all the other parts of the town that have not had their proportion of the schooling, nor money as above mentioned, shall be considered and have their proportion on the same conditions."

Braintree, in 1790, after arranging for the grammar school, voted "the remainder of the money to be divided in each precinct according to what they pay for polls and estates, and each precinct to lay out their own money as this committee shall direct." Mendon, in 1803, voted "to divide the school money the present year, one half to be divided according to the value and one half according to the number of scholars." Framingham, in 1750, had this article in the town warrant: "To see if the town will choose a meet person in each district of the outskirt schools in said town, to draw their respective parts of money out of the town treasury." This was granted.

Sometimes towns went to extremes in the subdivision of the school money and allowed individuals to draw out their school taxes and expend them personally. Worcester, in 1790, voted "that Capt. David Moore be allowed to take his proportion of the school money from the usual apportionment and apply it in schooling some other way the year ensuing." Chelsea voted, in 1768, that three men be allowed "their proportionable part of their taxes of what they pay to the town school, they laying the same out for schooling their children." Under this vote, their money is paid them by the selectmen for more than thirty years.

Certain definite obligations and certain definite powers were granted the districts, both as regards masters and as regards houses. In 1768 Winchendon allowed "the extreme parts of the town to have a school by themselves, they providing a place and keeper." Middletown, in 1754, voted "each squadron shall have the sole power of managing their

own schoolhouse and lands, by leasing out the same, and employing schoolmasters as it shall be most agreeable to them." This was changed in 1789, so that "all persons who send children to school to the west house shall have full power of choosing a schoolmaster to keep school in said house, and all other persons who have no children to send shall be excluded from any vote in choosing said schoolmaster." This was too radical and was soon repealed. Waltham, in 1745, required each squadron "to furnish a place for the school and convenient board for the teacher."

In 1735 Harvard voted "that each quarter of the town be empowered to choose their own schoolmaster." In 1740, after being presented for not having a school according to law, a special town meeting was held and the following significant votes were passed:

"Voted to have the school for the future in the quarters.

"Voted that each quarter shall have a quarter of the money spent in schooling among themselves as it shall be granted from time to time.

"Voted that each quarter shall find or build a convenient house to keep the school in.

"Voted that the selectmen shall have full power to order the school in each quarter from time to time; it is to be understood that if one quarter has the school in a good time, then to have it next in time not so good, as it shall be judged by the selectmen who are fully empowered to manage said affair.

"Voted that if any quarter neglects to build or procure a convenient house to keep the school in, when it comes to their turn, the school shall be kept in the next quarter whose turn it would be."

Weston, in 1768, voted to have schools in several places, including the south side, "if the south side provided suitable houses to keep their said two schools in." The next year they voted "to keep four writing schools on the same

conditions they were kept last year, the south side to find houses to keep their schools in."

These various town movements and opinions finally became embodied into statute law. In Connecticut, in 1766, this was enacted: "That each town and society shall have full power and authority to divide themselves into proper and necessary districts for keeping their schools, and to alter and regulate the same from time to time, as they shall have occasion; which districts so made shall draw their equal proportion of said monies as well as all other public monies, for the support of schools belonging to such respective towns or societies, according to the lists of each respective district therein."

In the revision of 1799 this was added: "And each school society is hereby empowered to appoint annually some proper person a committee for each school under its superintendency to provide an instructor for such school, with the approbation of the visitors thereof, hereinafter provided, and to manage the prudentials of such school."

In Massachusetts, in 1789, there was enacted that law which Horace Mann in his tenth report called "the most unfortunate law on the subject of common schools ever enacted in the state."

IV

THE ANCIENT SCHOOLMASTER

In supplying teachers for these early schools there was no standard, though there was some knowledge obtained from the grammar schools of England. There were no educated people except men; therefore the early New England teacher was a schoolmaster, and a schoolmaster he remained for some generations. The first mention of one is in that oft-quoted Boston record of 1635: "Likewise it was then generally agreed upon that our brother Philemon Pormont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nourturing of children among us." Much has been made of this earliest record, especially of the term "brother," as dignifying the schoolmaster. But a later record of this same meeting says, "also that our brother Richard Fairbanks shall be entreated to take the cows to keeping that are upon the Neck, and in case he cannot, then our brother Thomas Wordall to be entreated thereunto." "Brother" was a common term, and it will be noticed that while an alternate was named for the cows, there was none for the children. Cowherds were more plentiful than schoolmasters.

Generally throughout the entire colonial period the schoolmaster market was "short." As early as 1624 Governor Bradford wrote: "Indeed, we have no common school for want of a fit person or hitherto means to maintain one"; and in 1642 Governor Dudley, writing to his son in England, said: "There is a want of schoolmasters hereabouts." This want extended over many years. Many Harvard graduates taught for a year or two, but most of them were destined for the ministry. Trask makes this statement: "Of the 70

teachers whose names have been found connected with the Dorchester schools during the time above mentioned, nearly a century and three quarters, 53, or three fourths of the whole number, graduated from Harvard College. 31 of these schoolmasters, or nearly one half, were ordained ministers, the most of them subsequent to their teaching school."

As the meetinghouse was the first public building erected in most towns, the spirit of the age pointed to the ministry as the natural work of the college graduate. Everywhere the school was secondary to the church. Born from the fear of a future illiterate ministry, it was fostered by the clergy, ruled by them, and made the stepping-stone to the church. Very frequently the first schoolhouse was the first meetinghouse, abandoned when the second one was built.

An illustration of how the school was viewed in its relation to the church is this record from Dorchester in 1669: "A motion being made by our brethren and friends living at or near Hadley unto the town for to dismiss Mr. Atherton from his engagement to the school in Dorchester unto the public work of the ministry with them there; it is therefore put to the vote whether the town will be willing to dismiss Mr. Atherton from his engagement by the 29th of September next, or sooner if the town by their committee can provide a supply for their school. The vote is in the affirmative."

In many settlements there would have been no schools but for the self-sacrifice of this same clergy. This is eminently true in the Plymouth colony, where for more than a generation there were no public schools. All of Duxbury's early schoolmasters were clergymen who received the youth into their families and fitted them for college. The same was true of Scituate, where it is "known that Mr. Chauncey prepared his own sons and others for college and also several young men for the ministry, between 1640 and 1650." In Swansea, in 1673, pastor Myles, an English university graduate, was the teacher. The Reverend Samuel Danforth was the grammar

master in Taunton for years. In 1646 the Reverend John Higginson, the "teaching elder of the church" in Guilford, was also the schoolmaster. The Reverend Mr. Shepard was pastor and teacher at Lynn for a long series of years.

Later in the colonial period the same conditions obtained, especially in the newer settlements or where new grammar schools were established. In Wenham, in 1779, the grammar school was "taught by Rev. Mr. Swain in addition to his pulpit and pastoral labors. For this service, he received in the depreciated currency of the times £300, which might have been worth $50." Manchester, in 1727, appointed a committee "to treat with our Rev. Mr. Cheever and to know of him whether he will provide us a school or not, and if he refuses to provide for us any longer, to reckon with him for all his disbursements for the support of a school and to bring the account to the town at the adjournment." In Gilmanton, in 1769, the Reverend William Parsons was the first schoolmaster, and he continued this service for the benefit of the children some time after his labors as a minister had ceased. At Boscawen, in 1761, "the teacher employed was Mr. Varney who had preached for a short time after the death of Rev. Mr. Stevens." After him came the Reverend Robie Morrill, who had been dismissed from the ministry. At Bedford, until 1733, "the church was the only school and during several succeeding years the principal means of education. The minister was the instructor and he was well supported. The Rev. Nicholas Bowes, the first minister of the town, dismissed in August, 1754, taught the school the following winter. In one of the early winters the Rev. Ebenezer Hancock of Lexington taught the school and boarded with his sister."

This account of a minister in Grafton is interesting: "Rev. Aaron Hutch, who was ordained pastor of the church here in 1750, not only united in himself the clergy and the farmer, after the common custom of his time, but combined with his clerical and agricultural pursuits the office of teacher.

Well authenticated tradition has handed down to us the ingenious expedient by which he managed so to economize time as to meet his multifarious engagements. His method was to teach Latin and Greek and probably other branches as he wrought in the field, his pupils being required to follow him as he followed the plow." This record might be continued through a long list.

How this combination of minister and schoolmaster affected the youthful mind may be judged by the remarks of a speaker at the Wilton (New Hampshire) Centennial. Recalling his early days, he said: "My earliest impressions about a minister were that he was the most awful being in the world. Next to him the schoolmaster, judging from what I had heard, appeared to my imagination awful above all others. With what profound dread was it then, that I took my way for the first time to the winter school, for the awful schoolmaster whom I was to meet was no other than the still more awful minister; the great tall man dressed in black who preached and prayed in such solemn tones on the Sabbath. How my heart failed me and how my little frame trembled as I entered the schoolhouse door. But how different was my experience from what I anticipated. That awful man received me with so sweet a smile and spoke in such tender tones and in all things treated me and all the rest so gently, that my feelings were at once changed to those of confidence and love."

The quality of the schoolmaster who was not a minister as well was rigidly inspected; not the quality of his teaching, but the quality of his religion. Every schoolmaster must be properly branded. In 1654 this was the law: "For as much as it greatly concerns the welfare of this country that the youth thereof be educated not only in good literature but sound doctrine, this Court doth therefore commend it to the serious consideration and special care of the officers of the college and the selectmen in the several towns, not to admit or suffer any such to be continued in the office or place of

teaching, educating or instructing of youth or children in the college or schools, that have manifested themselves unsound in the faith, or scandalous in their lives, and not giving due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ."

Some years earlier Hartford had instructed her selectmen to find as schoolmaster "a scholar, no common man, a gentleman," and Portsmouth, nearly half a century later, voted "that care be taken that an able schoolmaster be provided for the town as the law directs, not vicious in conversation." No man could have a private school who did not meet the popular demands, the law of 1712 reading: "None shall keep a school but such as are of sober and good conversation with the allowance of the selectmen, and if any person shall be so hardy as to set up a school without such allowance, he shall forfeit 40 shillings to the use of the poor of the town." The incoming schoolmaster must be certified, not only by the minister of the town in which he proposed to teach but by the minister of one or more adjoining towns. Selection by the selectmen, election by the inhabitants in open town meeting, and approbation by the ministers was the legal straight and narrow road to teaching.

Some of these certificates are entertaining; they say enough but not too much. This one was issued in Wenham in 1743: "Mr. Jonathan Perkins, having been agreed with to keep school in our town for six months, we being well satisfied of his ability for that service and his sober and good conversation, do approbate the said Jonathan Perkins to keep a school in our town for the time agreed on, he continuing in such conversation."

This one was given in Plymouth in 1724: "We, the subscribers, ministers of the gospel, do hereby signify that we do approbate Mr. John Sparhawk as a person well capacitated and qualified to teach a grammar school and accordingly do recommend him to the town of Plymouth or any other town where God in his providence shall see cause to call him."

Three ministers of Medfield and the adjoining towns signed this in 1723: "These may certify whom it may concern, that we, the subscribers, understanding that the selectmen of Medfield have procured Mr. Jabez Wight to teach the grammar school in Medfield, and being desired by the said selectmen to signify our approbation of him as the law directs, do well approve the said Mr. Wight as a person suitably qualified according to law for that service, and some of us do know that he is now engaged in that work in Medfield."

The earliest certificate I have found was given in Watertown in 1680: "These are to certify that Mr. William Goddard of Watertown, whom the said town by covenanting engaged to teach such children as should be sent to him to learn the rules of the Latin tongue, hath those accomplishments which render him capable to discharge the trust in that respect committed to him. Signed, John Sherman, pastor."

Boston required the approval of the ministers before completing any engagement with a master. In 1693 it is recorded: "Sundry of the ministers in this town having recommended Mr. Nathaniel Williams to be a fit person to be joined with Mr. Cheever in the government of the Latin school ordered that the said Mr. Williams be treated with about the same." And in 1718: "Whereas the Reverend ministers of this town have already, most of them, signified under their hands their approbation of the selectmen's choice of Mr. Thomas Robie to succeed as master of the north grammar school; Voted, that the town clerk be directed in the name of the selectmen at the first opportunity to give the said Mr. Robie an invitation to undertake the charge as master of the said school, and to desire him as soon as may be to signify to them his mind and inclination relating thereto."

The spirit of these requirements came down with the development of the schools; and except in regard to religion the same demands are made to-day. But the minister has been

eliminated as the deciding factor; he was eliminated in at least one town in New Hampshire a hundred years ago. In 1809 a committee in Boscawen made this report: "As no person can be permitted to engage in a school without certificates of his or her qualifications and good moral character, it is the united opinion of this committee, that while some reputable grammar schoolmaster and minister of the gospel or preceptor of an academy &c certify his or her qualifications in the various branches of literature, the selectmen are the proper body to certify to the *moral character* of the person, and we shall therefore govern ourselves accordingly."

Scholastic requirements were not excessive. The New Hampshire law of 1719 required teachers to be able to teach children to read and write, and the law of 1789 added arithmetic. In 1788 the town of New Boston voted "to hire a grammar schoolmaster for a year as cheap as they can, and that said schoolmaster shall pass an examination." A committee of three was appointed "to see if he is qualified for the office as to the languages, figures and mathematics." It is said that all the qualifications needed in Springfield, in 1800, was "the knack to continue in the schoolroom the discipline of the kitchen, and being a good mender of quill pens." Denison Olmsted, in a speech at Yale in 1816, said: "The great defect in our school education ... is the ignorance and incompetency of schoolmasters. Now it is a notorious fact that a great part of our public school money is expended on such teachers as this: teachers whose geography scarcely transcends the mountains that bound their horizon; whose science is the multiplication table; and whose language, history and belle-lettres are all comprised in the American Preceptor and Webster's spelling book."

The schoolmaster was dealt with in open town meeting with refreshing frankness. Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1674, made this record "on the question whether the town would receive a certain man of Andover as schoolmaster,

and it was decided in the negative." A generation later, "the late schoolmaster, Humphrey Sullivan, was put to vote and not accepted of."

Two curious votes are recorded of a meeting legally warned and held in the schoolhouse in the Up-Neck district of Hartford. They sum up a whole tragedy: first, voted "that the schoolmaster read a paragraph before this meeting"; second, voted "that the master be dismissed from keeping a school in this district."

A two years' struggle in Dedham is recorded in a series of votes beginning: "It is agreed that Mr. Hinchman leave off keeping school when this present year is up, for the space of six months, and attend it again at the end of said term." This was in 1683, and the next year "the town by vote declare that they desire the selectmen to give notice to Mr. Hinchman, schoolmaster, to desist and leave off keeping school at the end of this present half year." Ten days after this vote was passed "Ensign Fuller and Sergeant Pond are desired and deputied to give notice to Mr. Hinchman, schoolmaster, to desist and leave off keeping school at the end of this present half year according to the vote of the town at their last general meeting." August 26, 1685, it is recorded: "This day Mr. Hinchman declares his earnest desire to be dismissed from keeping the school, declaring that it would be very great detriment to him to be holden longer to it, unto which desire of his, after serious consideration, the selectmen returned this answer; viz. that they were not willing to hold him, it being so much to his damage, but desired that he would continue in that work so long as he conveniently could, and further agreed to make a motion to James Thorp and to his son Peter, that he, Peter, would keep school in Mr. Hinchman's stead." In September, "it was proposed to the inhabitants whether they were willing that the selectmen should agree with Peter Thorp to keep the school, to which they answer and declare by their vote, that they are not willing." But a

week later the matter seems to have been finally decided: "This day we made an agreement with Mr. Holbrook to keep the school and to teach such children as come to read and write both English and Latin, according to his ability and their capacities."

Stamford, Connecticut, in 1671, voted "that Mr. Rider be admitted into the town for a time of trial to keep school as a committee appointed for that end shall agree with him, and if after trial the town approve him and he like to stay, they may after accommodate him according to their capacity, as they see need"; but a year later the town voted "the town is not minded to hire Mr. Rider any more." In 1708 they instructed a committee to hire "a stranger who is not an inhabitant of the town to keep school upon trial."

Boston, in 1719, voted "that the town will proceed by a written vote to choose a master." This voting by ballot was continued for a good many years, for in 1743 is this: "According to the vote of yesterday the town proceeded to the choice of a schoolmaster for the north writing school in the room of Mr. John Proctor who has resigned the place, and upon collecting and sorting the votes it appeared that Mr. Zachariah Hicks was chosen in a very great majority."

In 1722 a complaint against one of the masters was referred to a committee, who reported later in the year that they had visited the school and "examined the scholars under Mr. Amos Anger's tuition as to their proficiency in reading, writing, cyphering, and the master's ability of teaching and instructing youth, and his rules and method thereof, and are of opinion that it will be no service to the town to continue Mr. Anger in that employ"; and then the town by vote dismissed him.

A series of extracts from the town records of Dorchester show clearly the difficulties with which many towns had to contend. In 1660 it was voted "that Mr. Poole is to keep the school until his year be ended which will be about

April 20, 1661. Also it was voted the same day that the selectmen are to labor to provide a schoolmaster by the time that Mr. Poole's year be ended." Mr. Poole was sixty-seven years old when he began his duties in Dorchester. Later in the year it was voted "that they would have a schoolmaster in the town. It was voted the same day by the inhabitants of the town that they would have Mr. Poole to be the schoolmaster for the year ensuing." A week later the selectmen "did covenant with Mr. Poole to keep school for the ensuing year." In 1664 "the same day it was put to vote whether Mr. William Poole should continue teaching of school for future as formerly, until this year shall be expired, which will be the first day of December next, and then the town to consider whether he shall continue teaching any longer, yea or nay. It was voted in the affirmative." Several similar votes were taken in succeeding years.

In 1666, "at a town meeting, after some agitation about a schoolmaster, it was put to the vote whether there should be a schoolmaster enquired after and procured for to teach school in this town. It was voted in the affirmative and by a second vote it was agreed unto that . . . should be desired and empowered to endeavor to procure a schoolmaster. The same day it was voted and granted that Mr. Poole should be spoken unto to go on in keeping school until another master be procured, at the same rate as formerly, proportionably according to the time he shall so do, and William Sumner is appointed to speak to Mr. Poole about it, if he will accept of it so to do."

In 1668 the following record was made: "Whereas the last year, the town did make choice of . . . [three men] for to look out for a schoolmaster to teach school in this town, and that being not yet attained, although it have been endeavored after, the town do again renew their request to those men fore mentioned, to look out after another master and further they do give them full power to agree with such a man as they shall judge meet, not exceeding £40 a year.

The vote was in the affirmative. The same day it was agreed unto and voted that Mr. Poole should be spoken unto and desired that he would continue teaching the school as formerly for the year ensuing, or until another can be obtained." At this time he was seventy-five years old; he died in 1674, eighty-one years of age.

At Hartford, in 1660, it was "ordered by the vote of the town that William Pitkin should have free liberty to teach school in Hartford." In 1687 the town voted "that they would not continue that order to Mr. Caleb Watson that was made in '74, but that it should be null, that is to say that order about the school at £30 a year." In 1705 Mr. Watson was still there, for there was a committee of five appointed and it was voted "that Mr. Caleb Watson be no longer schoolmaster for the town, and the committee above mentioned chosen for the school are empowered to provide a suitable schoolmaster to manage that work in convenient time."

The following notice was properly posted in Taunton: "These are to give notice to all the inhabitants belonging to the center part of the school ground in Taunton, that they meet at the schoolhouse in said Taunton on Monday next, the 19th day of June, instant, at four of the clock in the afternoon, then and there to consider on and agree where the school shall be kept for the next three months and where the schoolmaster shall be boarded. This notification is by order of the selectmen of said Taunton, dated June 13th, 1758. By me, Isaac Marick." On June 19 the second question was thus settled: "It was voted that the said schoolmaster shall be boarded at the dwelling house of Mr. John Adams."

The selectmen, upon whom devolved the duty of finding schoolmasters, could not always find men who satisfied the demands of the law, the requirements of the ministers, and the whims of the voters. Their task was not an easy one, especially when the courts were threatening fines if the schools

were not maintained. Varied material had to be accepted, doctors, deacons, town clerks, and others being frequently pressed into the service. Framingham, in 1706, voted "that deacon Hemenway should be our schoolmaster the year ensuing." In 1710 it voted "that deacon Joshua Hemenway shall be schoolmaster for to learn youth to write hence forward, and when he has a mind to lay it down, he will give the town timely notice to provide another schoolmaster."

The physicians were often the schoolmasters. The first schoolmaster recorded in Braintree was Mr. Thompson, who had previously taught in Boston and Charlestown. He is also supposed to have been the first physician. "In urgent cases he was obliged to close his school to attend to his professional duties." This was in 1678. Malden had a Dr. Wigglesworth, who as a physician received sixpence a visit, and as a schoolmaster £16 10s. for a six months' engagement. In Medfield Dr. Return Johnson was the first physician. In 1684 he was engaged to keep school a month on trial, "to continue a year if he likes and gives consent." He was afterwards engaged for a year, with a fortnight in the spring "to attend to his practise of physics," the time to be made up at the end of the half year. If the emergencies of his practise took him away from school at other times, the time lost was to be made up also. "Being much abroad out of town," it was found that the two occupations did not go well together, and in the spring the bargain was canceled with his consent.

Dr. Jeremiah Everett, the first physician in Westminster, was paid £3 14s. 8d. "in full of his account while keeping school." Dr. Thomas Hastings was the first teacher in Whately in 1681, and Dr. Jasper Gunn kept the first school in Milford, Connecticut, in 1661. At Warren, Maine, in 1759, an attempt was made to maintain some form of school even during the war, and it is related that "Dr. Robinson in the blockhouse devoted all his leisure time and particularly the Sabbath to the instruction of the children." Dover,

New Hampshire, in 1774, has this record: "By request of the selectmen and many people, Dr. Green kept the grammar school four months in the Pine Hill schoolhouse." In 1749 Chester, New Hampshire, paid Dr. Samuel Moores one hundred eight pounds "for schooling." In Gilmanton Dr. William Smith "also instructed as from time to time the duties of his profession permitted." In the accounts of the selectmen of Weare are these items: In 1772 they "paid to Dr. Page for taking the charge of the grammar school 12 shillings," and in 1775 they "paid Dr. Phil Hoit for keeping school, £3."

Boone, in his "Education in the United States," mentions these duties of a schoolmaster of 1661:

"1. To act as court messenger.
"2. To serve summons.
"3. To conduct certain ceremonial services of the church.
"4. To lead the Sunday choir.
"5. To ring the bell for public worship.
"6. To dig graves.
"7. To take charge of the school.
"8. To perform other occasional duties."

While it is doubtful if any one schoolmaster performed all these duties, it is very evident that many performed more than one of them. One great duty, however, is missing in this list, that of taking the place of the minister on Sunday. New England records teem with this demand. Next to having a minister who would teach, was having a teacher who could preach. This custom extended over the whole colonial period. John Fiske, Salem's first schoolmaster, assisted in the pulpit for over two years. In 1757 Peter T. Smith "kept school and preached" at Weymouth. John Wilson, Jr. was engaged in 1685 to teach the school at Medfield, and "he was given leave to preach sometimes and take as recompense what should be given by free contributions. When he should be desired to preach, he was to have liberty of two days from

the school in the week before." The records do not state whether these two days were allowed for preparation of the sermon or to acquire the proper spiritual mood after the trials of the schoolroom.

Woburn, in 1700, sought a grammar schoolmaster with ability "to assist occasionally the Rev. Mr. Fox in the ministry." Farmington, Connecticut, in 1683, wanted one of certain scholarly qualities and "also to step into the pulpit to be helpful there in time of emergency." Ten years later they were looking for a man "that is in a capacity to teach both Latin and English, and in time of exigency to be helpful to Mr. Hooker in the ministry." Guilford early named three conditions in hiring a schoolmaster: "He taking all sorts, and that from their A, B, C's; secondly, to continue so doing for three years; thirdly, to be helpful in preaching when required." Falmouth, in 1701, voted "to look out for a fit person to preach the word of God and to keep school."

John Branker, schoolmaster at Windsor, was also "ruling elder in the church; sometimes preached the weekly lecture." Hadley, in 1665, voted "to give twenty pounds per annum for three years towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach the children and to be as a help to Mr. Russell as occasion may require." Newbury, in 1693, voted "that Mr. John Clarke be called to assist Mr. Richardson in the work of the ministry at the west end of the town, to preach to them one year in order to farther settlement, and also to keep a grammar school." At Guilford, in 1646, Mr. John Higginson was the schoolmaster and the assistant pastor. In 1718 Lynn instructed the selectmen to employ a schoolmaster and to make an agreement with him that should "have relation to some help for Mr. Shepard in preaching." At Rowley, according to a record dated 1721, the son of the minister "for many years continued to teach the town school, assisting his father a part of the time to carry on the work of the ministry and occasionally supplying destitute pulpits in

neighboring towns." Later on another teacher seems to have preached at times, for in 1726 he received of the town treasurer "one pound for preaching one Sabbath day." At Lexington, in 1728, the son of the minister was engaged to teach the grammar school; afterwards, "when he was settled as a colleague with his father, it was with the understanding that he should continue his school." Branford, Connecticut, in 1729, voted "to hire as a schoolteacher one who could also be helpful in the ministry as occasion required." Portland, in 1732, had in a town warrant: "To see where the school shall be opened and kept, and to agree upon some method to pay the schoolmaster, to see if the town will agree with the schoolmaster to preach the winter season to the people on the Purpooduck side of the river." And so this list might be continued.

The colonial schoolmaster who adopted his work as his regular occupation, and not as a stepping-stone to the ministry, was reasonably secure in his position. No "tenure of office law" was needed. The permanency of the clergy probably affected the schoolmaster; the limited supply of good candidates and the recognition of the personal influence of long service also weighed in his favor. While the newer settlements found it difficult to obtain masters for short periods or had none at all, the older communities frequently retained theirs for a generation or more. The first master of the Cambridge grammar school was Elijah Corlett. Just when he began is a matter of doubt, but it is known that he was there more than forty years. In 1643 it is said that "he had taught sufficiently long to have acquired a high reputation for skill and faithfulness," and in 1684 the town voted him twenty pounds annually "for so long as he continues to be schoolmaster in this place." In 1719 appears this vote: "Whereas, by reason of the death of Mr. Nicholas Fessenden, our late schoolmaster, the school in our town is in an unsettled condition; and whereas, Mr. Samuel

Danforth, of Dorchester, has been pleased to manifest his inclinations to be a schoolmaster amongst us, and to devote himself to that service; voted and agreed that the said Mr. Samuel Danforth take the care and charge of said school on the same terms that our said late schoolmaster kept it, and that he forthwith provide some suitable person to manage said school until such time as he can remove amongst us himself, which Mr. Danforth promised to comply with." He kept the school for eleven years.

Richard Norcross began to teach in Watertown in 1651, and was the only teacher there for twenty years. In 1700 he was still teaching, at the age of seventy-nine. He had been the schoolmaster for most of the forty-nine years since he first began, being out of the position only at brief intervals. It was seven years after Oxford voted to have a schoolmaster before the selectmen found one. Then Mr. Richard Rogers was secured, and he taught twenty-two successive years. "He was the most accomplished teacher of his time, not only in Latin and English, but noted for his unrivalled penmanship." John Lovell was master of the Boston Latin School for forty-two years. John Tileston was master of the North Writing School from 1762 to 1819. At the age of eighty-five "feeling the infirmities of age increasing with the decay of strength natural to so long and laborious a life, he found it necessary to resign and retire from active service." In all, he had taught in Boston and elsewhere some seventy years.

In 1766 the Boston selectmen sent a messenger to Mr. Peleg Wiswall, one of their aged masters, with the request "not to expose his health by attending school this winter, and that his salary shall be drawn for notwithstanding." The next year the usher of the school declined to stay longer under existing conditions, and a committee of the selectmen waited on the master. "He said he was sensible of the difficulties coming on before his last confinement and that he had for some weeks past thought it his duty to let the

selectmen know his infirmities would prevent his further attendance upon the business of said school, and after some further discourse, resigned the place of master of said school; adding that he had spent his estate in the town's service and hoped they would not let him suffer, to which it was replied by them, that the disposition of the town was such that we could not doubt he would be provided for during the remainder of his days."

Ezekiel Cheever, however, is the well-known, conspicuous example. His record in brief is as follows. At the age of twenty-three he began teaching in New Haven, where he remained twelve years. Because of church troubles he went to Ipswich and taught eleven years, "making his school famous in all the country." Then he taught in Charlestown nine years, and was called to Boston in 1670. He was then fifty-six years old, an age at which the modern master finds it difficult to obtain a situation. There he remained thirty-eight years. He died in harness at ninety-four, having taught over seventy years.

Of Braintree's schoolmasters, Mr. Cleverly taught twenty-four years and Samuel Savil twenty-three years. John Farrin taught in Brunswick for many years, and during the stress of 1776 he remitted some sixteen pounds of his salary "in consequence of the public distresses and the burdensome taxes." Deacon Warfield taught in Mendon eleven years. Peter Selew taught in Harwich from 1717 to 1741, how much longer the records do not say. Sandwich had two men, John Rogers and Silas Tupper, over twenty-five years each. Mr. Longfellow taught in Portland over fifteen years. For twenty-two years John Fowle was a noted master in Woburn. Josiah Pierce kept the grammar school in Hadley for twelve years and then returned again for another period of six years. At Billerica, in 1679, "Ensign Thompson was chosen schoolmaster to teach such to read and write as shall come to him to learn." He was the schoolmaster for thirty years. Rowley, in 1656,

made this agreement: "The town agreed with one William Boynton to teach a town school for the term of seven years. . . . The church agreed to loan said Boynton the sum of five pounds to aid him in putting up an end to his house, on the condition he keep the school for seven years as aforesaid, then the demand against him for said five pounds is to be void, but if he do not so keep the school, then he is to pay the church one half the appraised value of said end of the house." What other compensation he was to have is not known. He kept the school twenty-four years.

Generally towns were cautious in their first elections, making the terms short. For example, Dedham, in 1659, invited a man to come and "to keep the school for a quarter of a year." Later they elected another man "to try for one quarter of a year how he may suit with the town." Such votes are very common, but not unfrequently after trial and proof reëlection was for a definite number of years. Bristol, in 1724, proposed "to settle a schoolmaster for the term of seven years." At New London, in 1698, "Mr. Allan Mullins was engaged as the principal for eight years." Plymouth, in 1706, appointed a committee of four who "should agree with Mr. Josiah Cotton to keep the school in the town as said town's schoolmaster during the term of six years ensuing, he the said Mr. Josiah Cotton managing the said school with that prudence and industry that he hath done the last year."

While these and other towns were enjoying the peace and prosperity of long service, still others were in the slough of despondency, urged on the one hand by the inexorable court to provide a schoolmaster according to law, and checked on the other by the scarcity of material. This difficulty is clearly set forth in the reply, already quoted [on page 38], of the selectmen of Andover, in 1713, to an indictment for not having a school.

As evidence of this shortage the following accounts through a series of years are conclusive. At New Haven, in 1652,

Governor Eaton was very much interested in the school and called a meeting of the court to consider the question of a master: "The Governor informed the court that the cause of calling this meeting is about a schoolmaster, to let them know what he hath done in it. He hath written a letter to one Mr. Brown who is schoolmaster at Plymouth and desires to come to these parts to live, and another letter about one Rev. Mr. Landson, a scholar, who he hears will take that employment upon him; how they will succeed he knows not, but now Mr. Janes is come to the town and is willing to come hither again if he may have encouragement. What course had been taken to get one, he was acquainted with, and if either of them came, he must be entertained, but he said if another came, he should be willing to teach boys and girls to read and write, if the town thought fit, and Mr. Janes being now present, confirmed it."

Windsor, Connecticut, in 1676, had no schoolmaster, though "the town voted they are willing there shall a schoolmaster be got and the townsmen were to get one, and the children to pay as to Mr. C. and the rest by the town."

Watertown had Harvard graduates during all the early 1700's, and yet they reached a year when the committee reported to the selectmen "that they have been with the president of the college and he informs them they cannot have any there that will keep school."

At a meeting of the selectmen in Dorchester, in 1681, "Ensign Hale was desired and appointed to enquire after a schoolmaster who, some say, there may be one at Bridgewater." At Norfolk, Connecticut, in 1701, it was "voted and agreed by the town that they would have a schoolmaster for the next year ensuing, in case he can be obtained."

Portsmouth, in 1701, "at a meeting of the selectmen and committee appointed by the town to take care for the providing of an able schoolmaster, so qualified in learning and good manners as to teach our youth in reading, writing and

cyphering, the tongues and other learning as may fit them for the college, . . . then also agreed that we request the Hon. the Lieut. Gov. Pattridge and Mr. George Jeffrey to use their best endeavors in enquiring out and procuring such fit person and send him forthwith amongst us, in order to his further settlement." Later in the year, at a meeting of the selectmen and committee for the settling of the schoolmaster, it was voted, "whereas Mr. Daniel Greenleaf of Newbury has been with us in order to a settlement as a schoolmaster, and is at present at Newbury, that we do forthwith send to him to have his answer in coming amongst us, in order to a settlement, that we allow him £40 per annum while he abides amongst us, in case he comes and duly performs his office to the satisfaction of the town. . . . Mr. Greenleaf being come and present with us, we have agreed with him to allow him £40 per annum while he continues with and faithfully performs the office of a schoolmaster, and he likewise doth promise and engage to continue with us this year for the above consideration and so teach all town children and servants as are able competently to read from their Psalters." But they were soon in difficulty again and engaged another man "diligently to attend the school for the present year."

At Framingham, in 1718, a committee reported "that they have used their utmost diligence but can find no master to be had as yet." At Woburn a committee spent six weeks — going to both Boston and Cambridge twice — before finding a master; then they found one who would come for six months for "£12 and his board found him free by the town."

Northampton had the same difficulty, and their schools were not kept every year. Finally, in 1761, they voted: "The town, considering of the great want of a schoolmaster for the instructing of children and youth, have for that end appointed Mr. Solomon Stoddard and Elder Strong to treat with Mr. Watson to see whether he may be attained to come and settle among us for to carry on a school, and if there be

likelihood of attaining him, then to make report to the town on what terms he may be procured." But the mission was unsuccessful, and later in the year the town again voted "to give a schoolmaster £30 a year provided that one can be procured fit for such an employment, that is to say, that shall be able and fit to teach and instruct children and youths to read English, and to write and cast accounts at least."

Because of this scarcity towns frequently resorted to what might be called emergency schoolmasters; it was a case of taking what could be had. In 1663 Dedham made this record: "In consideration of the present want of a schoolmaster and of the weakly estate of our brother Joseph Ellice, he being willing and we being hopeful he may do some good in teaching some children to read English for the present, and until one more able can be attained, do agree and order that forthwith notice be given that he shall begin to teach at the schoolhouse the next second day, and that he shall have six shillings per week so long as he shall so teach."

Malden, in 1697, chose one John Moulton as schoolmaster. He was sixty-six years old, had spent all his life at sea, and had never taught a day. "His recommendation as a teacher may have been the acquirements which a mariner had gained in trade and navigation, or the availability of an old man with little or nothing to do." A few years later they employed a weaver, and still later a shoemaker of natural ability but limited education, who had to take lessons of the minister before he could assume the duties of his office. It is said of him: "Had a kind Providence given him health, a shoemaker he might have remained to the end. But he appears to have possessed a feeble constitution and to have been troubled by many ills; and the selectmen, vexed and perplexed as they seem to have been by their annual duty of providing a schoolmaster, and thinking, perhaps, that a sick shoemaker might make a passable teacher, prevailed upon him to leave the lapstone and

the awl, and enter upon a course of study with Mr. Emerson. Graduating from the parsonage after a few months, with a slight knowledge of the languages, it is said, and a sufficient mastery of the mysteries of the three R's to enable him to obtain the approbation of several neighboring clergymen, he took up the rod, which he wielded with a zeal that tradition asserts was not always tempered by discretion. He is said to have been a worthy teacher; but his worth seems to have been gauged by his piety rather than his ability to teach." Yet this man taught twenty-five years and gave permanency and spirit to the school.

New Haven, after losing Mr. Cheever, maintained her school intermittently. At one time a George Pardee was engaged "to teach English and writing, and to carry the scholars in Latin as far as he could," and Mr. Pardee remarked that this would be "a very short distance indeed."

Northampton was obliged to hire one James Cornish, a man of good attainments, probably, but of one bad habit — profanity. He was fined twice, and the court on the second offense "highly resented that such an aged man and of his quality and profession should so dishonor God and give such evil example to youth and others."

Brookline, in 1711, agreed "with John Winchester, Jr., for his man Ed Ruggles, to keep school at the new schoolhouse two months." In 1763 Chester, New Hampshire, had a Mr. Herring as schoolmaster; two years later it is recorded: "Henry Herring, the former master, has become a pauper and warned out of town." In 1732 the selectmen of Ipswich appointed Henry Spiller "to keep a school for teaching in reading, writing and cyphering; the town having allowed him the use of the room at the southeasterly end of the almshouse for that service." The next year he was "on the town," but "at a meeting of the selectmen April 8, 1734, Henry Spiller is allowed and approbated to set up a school in the town of Ipswich for teaching and instructing children

or youth in reading or writing, he being a person of sober and good conversation. The selectmen do not promise him any encouragement for his services herein, other than that the parents or masters of the children he shall instruct are willing to give him themselves."

About 1782 Esquire Stiles of Temple, New Hampshire, speaking of the first school he attended, said it was kept "by a Mr. Hibbs, who was old and slow. It was then the custom to employ those for teachers who were in the most need of support; if they could read a chapter in the Testament, teach the Shorter Catechism, and whip the boys, they were sufficiently qualified."

Braintree, in 1725, engaged a master for the year, reserving the privilege of "hiring Jonathan Neal in his stead for six months of the time."

The first teacher at Francestown, New Hampshire, was a man by the name of Burke, whom "tradition credits with a rather free use of cider and rum." In Antrim, there is this account of the first schoolmaster and Deacon Aiken: Early in 1700, at the time of a great freshet, "a stranger knocked at the deacon's door one evening, and offered to work in his service for his board. He gave his name as George Beman, was a foreigner, born on the seas, of middle age, a deserter from the British at Boston; had followed marked trees and swam the streams in search of a place of concealment. Next morning he took up a Bible, remarking that he had scarce seen a good book for forty years, and would try himself at reading. He proved to be a good reader, resided in the family some years, and made himself useful by laboring on the farm and teaching the children."

In Warren, Maine, from 1700 to 1775, there were neighborhood schools and teachers seemingly. "Dr. Fales was a competent instructor for those in his neighborhood, and others of more slender acquirements were occasionally employed in other places. Some invalid unable to labor, some

widow or single woman not otherwise employed, were all the settlers had the means to compensate. Among these was Bartholomew Killeran of the lower town, who was altogether helpless from a paralytic affection of his lower limbs. He taught school in various places and amongst others at the house of Moses Copelands, for the children of that neighborhood. He was highly esteemed for his amiable disposition, and not the less so, that in place of the birch and ferule, he was obliged to make use of loaf sugar to stimulate and encourage his pupils." After the Revolution their teacher was John O'Brien, a ship's steward captured off Marblehead and taken to Boston. "Thence on an exchange of prisoners, he was sent to Castine and allowed by the captain to escape to Fox Islands, whence after teaching there two months, he came to this town. He was an elegant penman and a good accountant, but somewhat severe in the management of his scholars. He was employed in different parts of the town for many succeeding years."

Other Maine towns had to resort to similar masters. Thomaston, in 1778, has a history very like Warren: "What schools there were, now as before the incorporation, were got up by private individuals at their own expense. Dr. Fales, from his first arrival, had taught more or less in the old fort or his own house. Other persons, mostly transient, taught in different neighborhoods for short periods. Among these was one who for many years continued to exercise in this and neighboring regions a considerable influence in education and literature. This was John Sullivan, a native of Dublin, Ireland, who after an indefinite period spent in teaching and shoemaking between here and Pennsylvania, found his way to this place in a somewhat dilapidated condition, to which one of his habitual intervals of intemperance had reduced him. Landing from a coaster at Wessaweskeag, in company with one other passenger of more respectable appearance, and calling at the house of Mr. Snow

as the principal one in the place and usually resorted to by strangers, he saw his companion invited to a seat at dinner, whilst he, from his shabby costume together with his queer and ambiguous countenance, was left behind to wait for the second table. After they had dined he enquired of Mr. Snow if he knew any one wishing to employ a shoemaker, but was answered in the negative. On asking if there were any other business in which he could get employment, he was told there was none except that of a schoolmaster, which was then greatly needed. Sullivan observed that he himself had sometimes been employed as a teacher. 'If you can satisfy me of your qualifications,' said Snow, 'I can get you employment.' Sullivan offered to submit to any examination. 'Well then,' said Snow, 'let me ask you one question. What is the ground of justification?' 'Satisfaction for the offence,' said Sullivan. 'Right, right,' said the host, 'that is sufficient; go and get some dinner.'" Sullivan became the schoolmaster.

Portland, in 1761, has this record: "Things remain in a dismal situation about the schoolmaster, Richmond, a very worthless fellow, by means of which the peace of the neighborhood of the Neck is broken up and dreadful quarrellings occasioned. The old selectmen sent him out of town but he returned and kept school at ——." In an old memorandum book of Enoch Freeman, a justice of the peace, is this item: "John Montague Richmond of Falmouth, yeoman, in £10, Alexander Ross, merchant, and Nathaniel Coffin, physician, as sureties, each in £5, that said Richmond shall appear at the General Session to be held at said Falmouth the first Tuesday of September next, to answer his being presented for getting up and keeping school in said Falmouth without the approbation of the selectmen."

The following application shows a degree of education beyond what most of the Maine towns had been able to secure. There is no date and no recorded result, but the application

for the schoolmaster's lot proves it to belong to an early period. "To the inhabitants of the town of St. Georges, Gentlemen; permit me to address you with a few lines at your public meeting. If we seriously reflect on the various advantages resulting from education, we shall unanimously conclude that the knowledge of letters is one of the greatest blessings that the divine Majesty of Heaven has bestowed upon the children of men. Learning furnishes us with uncommon preternatural endowments of the mind, and leads us to full observation of every decent regulation of the human life. It illuminates our natural faculties to discern the source or origin of action, which compels or induces us to act according to our duty to God and man. Finally, it is an estate that no outward violence or arbitrary power can interrupt or take away from us. In consequence of so many advantages, it is a duty incumbent on every parent to cultivate their children in literature, and initiate them into knowledge of the secret writings that they may have an early taste of the beauty and excellency of them.

"Therefore, gentlemen, in hopes of your general approbation, I am encouraged to offer my services in scholastic tuition, that I may have the honor to instruct your youth. Should I be so happy as to merit your esteem, it would give me the greatest pleasure. I would also most humbly apply to you for the schoolmaster's lot in your town, which, if you grant, will oblige me to make the most grateful acknowledgements. I shall leave it to your wise determination and wish you success in all your annual proceedings, whilst I remain your sincere friend and humble servant." This piece of eloquence bore the signature of Michael Ryan.

These men received small salaries and because of that frequently joined other occupations with that of "keeping school." Most of them were farmers on a small scale; in addition they did many odd things, some in keeping with the school work and others at great variance with it.

Richard Norcross, whom I have mentioned before, besides his salary of thirty pounds, was "allowed two shillings a head for keeping the dry herd." Weeden, commenting on this combination, remarks: "He wet-nursed the brains of the children and dry-nursed the bodies of the cattle." Roger Sherman, a Milton schoolmaster of 1738–1740, was a "cord-wainer" and made periodic trips through the town, stopping at each house long enough "to make and mend the shoes of the family." William Turpin, the first schoolmaster of Providence, kept an ordinary, or house of public entertainment. Samuel Corbett, who was master at Bristol for nine years, was also rater of estates and grand juryman. At Windsor, in 1679, "the town voted Capt. Clark to keep school in Windsor for a year, six months on each side of the Rivulet, and he engaged also to attend to the town's business in writing out rates, lists &c, for all of which he was allowed £40." At Woburn, in 1689, the grammar master was also engaged "to record the selectmen's acts about town affairs, to be recorder or town clerk." Dedham, in 1787, had a master who taught for three dollars a month, prosecuted his own studies, and improved "his hours of relaxation by making bird cages which he turned to some pecuniary account." Many of the Dover masters added surveying to teaching. Daniel Rogers, who was master in Ipswich from 1687 to 1715, has this said of him: "Besides being master of this school, he held the office of town clerk and register of probate for many years; but regard for the truth of history obliges me to add, he is entitled to the unenviable distinction of being the worst scribe that ever had the custody of our records. He was careless, incorrect, and his handwriting is frequently illegible."

A very common addition to the master's duties was "to sweep the meetinghouse and ring the bell." Soon after 1650 Weymouth's schoolmaster was William Chard, who was also town clerk and attended to the drawing up of such legal papers as the people needed. In 1669 he was also sexton and seems

to have kept this dual position until 1687, when he was voted out of school, but it was added, "He is at liberty to use the dwelling and schoolhouse until next March meeting, for which he is to ring the bell and sweep the meetinghouse." Topsfield, in 1693, voted, "The town have agreed that Goodman Lovewell, schoolmaster, shall live in the parsonage house this year ensuing, to keep school and sweep the meetinghouse." Mr. Boynton taught the school in Rowley for twenty-four years: "During a portion of the time and perhaps all the time he taught the school, he had the care of ringing the meetinghouse bell and of sweeping the meetinghouse. For this service he usually received £2–10 per annum." In 1713 Wenham made an agreement with William Rogers "to keep school in our town to teach the youth to read and write, and to sweep the meetinghouse and ring the bell for the year, and we do allow him 55 shillings for his allowance." Such votes are quite general.

Towns as far as possible obtained the best masters available, and some, like Braintree, can show an almost unbroken line of Harvard graduates in these early years. Plymouth, in the hundred years from 1671 to 1771, had twenty-eight schoolmasters; all but two were graduates of Harvard College. The pay was small, for towns heavily burdened in every way could not afford to be liberal. Frequently it was voted that the selectmen should procure a schoolmaster "as cheap as they can," though few towns added the restriction Hingham did in 1690, "Provided they shall hire a single man and not a man that have a family."

Though poorly paid the master held an honored place in the community, second only to the minister. This social position was assured, and it was frequently emphasized by a choice allotment in the church seating. Encouragement was often extended by exemption from military duties, remission of taxes, or assignment of town lands. In 1721 Wallingford "gave Mr. Bates, the schoolmaster, liberty to sit in the

first pew in the front gallery of the new meetinghouse." With reference to the respect paid to the master of another Connecticut town is this: "And as evidence of this respect, it may be mentioned that in the bill for fitting up the first meetinghouse in Windsor there is a separate item for wainscoting and elevating pews, to be occupied by the magistrates, the deacon's family, and the schoolmaster." In Salem, "to show proper respect to the schoolmaster in placing the families in the meetinghouse, the wife of the grammar schoolmaster was to be accommodated in the pew next to the wives of the magistrates."

The schoolmaster had local dignity, especially if he were a college graduate; "sir" was his usual title under that condition. Many records are found in which "Sir" is prefixed to the surname and the first name omitted, as, for example, "Sir Fox." In 1741 schoolmasters were exempt from military duty in Connecticut. They had been exempt from some assessments, but in 1702 this was passed: "Ordered, that all assistant justices of the peace, surgeons, physicians, and schoolmasters, shall be rated in the minister's rate as other persons in their respective towns and societies to which they belong, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

In making engagements with the schoolmasters towns generally drew up concise agreements, including what the masters were to do and the compensation to be paid; these were ratified in open town meeting or left to the discretion of the selectmen. Much information is to be found in these agreements, both as to the requirements of the schools and the salaries paid; for this reason, I quote several of them.

In 1668, in the records of Roxbury, the schoolmaster, John Prudden "doth promise and engage to use his best skill and endeavors, both by precept and example, to instruct in all scholastical, moral, and theological discipline, the children, so far as they are or shall be capable, of those persons whose names are here underwritten, all A-B-C-Darians

excepted." The feoffees "do promise and engage, for the due recompense of his labor, to allow the said John Prudden the full and just sum of twenty-five pounds: the one half to be paid on the 29th of September next ensuing the date hereof, and the other half on the 25th of March next ensuing, i.e. in the year '70, the said twenty-five pounds to be paid by William Park and Robert Williams, their heirs and administrators, at the upper mills in Roxbury, three quarters in Indian corn or pease, and the other fourth part in barley, all good and merchantable, at price current in the country rate at the day of payment. . . . It is also further added, by agreement, for the encouragement of the said John Prudden in the said employment, that if any person or persons in the town of Roxbury shall for like ends desire and upon like grounds with those above mentioned see meet to add their names to this writing, they shall enjoy like privileges with those whose names are above written, provided that whatsoever they shall give in that way, shall be an addition to the twenty-five pounds and to be paid with it as aforesaid."

Charlestown, in 1671, in its agreement with Benjamin Thompson, made these stipulations: "1. That he shall be paid £30 per annum by the town, and to receive 20 shillings a year from each particular scholar that he shall teach, to be paid him by those who send children to him to school. 2. That he shall prepare such youths as are capable of it for the college with learning answerable. 3. That he shall teach to read, write and cypher. 4. That there shall be half a year's warning given mutually by him and the town before any change or remove on either side."

Several interesting agreements are found in the records of Dedham. In 1653 the selectmen "agreed with Jacob Farrow to keep the school, to begin 28th of first month, 1653, to have £20 per annum to be paid in town pay, being merchantable, at the end of each half year the one half of the said sum; he undertakes to teach to read English and the

'Accidence,' and to write, and the knowledge and art of arithmetic, and the rules and practice thereof: this to be proposed to the town."

In 1658 the selectmen "being met to agree with Michael Metcalf for keeping school: It is agreed mutually that the said Michael shall attend the keeping of the school in our town at the schoolhouse the ensuing year or so long as God shall enable him, and teach such male children as shall be sent to him by any inhabitant to read and write English, provided that if any inhabitant shall take any child or children to that end to send them to school, it shall be at liberty of the schoolmaster to refuse such, except they agree with him to his satisfaction, and further it is mutually agreed that if the weather be extreme and unfit to travel, then he shall keep the school at his own house till the season be more temperate.

"In consideration whereof, we, the selectmen above named, do agree that he shall receive £20 sterling, the one half in wheat and the other half in Indian or rye, all being merchantable, at the end of each half year ten pounds, that is five pounds in wheat and five pounds in other corn, the wheat at the baker's current price in Dedham, other corn as it go current from man to man, and in case of doubtfulness of price the selectmen shall settle the price at the end of each half year: the corn is to be delivered at the house of Michael Metcalf. And it is further agreed that he shall be required no more highway work but only one day's work of one man and a team, and one day more of a man. And no advantage shall be taken to discount for not attending the school except it be discontinued a full week together."

In 1660 it was "agreed with Thomas Maritt to keep the school in this town for half a year, to teach all such children as shall be sent to him, to write and read, so far as God shall enable him, with all diligence, and for the same he is to have the full sum of ten pounds. . . . And if the said Thomas shall

omit keeping of the school upon any occasion one whole week, he shall be accountable for it, but if upon occasion he omit two or three days in a week so that he keep part of the week, there is nothing required of him for it."

In 1661 a new agreement was made with Michael Metcalf: "Agreed with Michael Metcalf to keep the school so long time as God shall enable him for seven shillings eight pence a week, the school to be kept in the parlor of the dwelling house sometimes Frances Chickering's, deceased, to teach the male children that shall be sent to him by the inhabitants; the said Michael do engage to teach them to read and to write English as they shall be capable. . . . Also inhabitants take no children from other towns to put them to school; if any do so, they shall agree with the schoolmaster."

Hingham, 1670: "This memorandum is to certify those whom it may concern, that the selectmen of Hingham have indented Henry Smith as followeth: The said Henry Smith engageth that with care and diligence he will teach and instruct until a year be expired in Latin, Greek, and English, in writing and arithmetic, such youths of the inhabitants of Hingham as shall for the forementioned sciences be sent into their school. And the said selectmen whose names are subscribed do on the behalf of the town of Hingham promise and engage that the foresaid Henry Smith for his encouragement and pains shall have £24 proportionally paid him at the end of each quarter of the foresaid annual term, in good merchantable corn at price current. The species are wheat, rye, barley, pease, and Indian, whereof a third or second is to be Indian corn. The foresaid year is to begin on the first of February, 1670, and to end on the last of January, 1671. The said Henry Smith is to have a fortnight time allowed him for a journey out of the year above said."

Hampton, New Hampshire, 1649: "The selectmen of this town of Hampton have agreed with John Legat for this present year ensuing, to teach and instruct all the children of or

belonging to our town, both male and female, which are capable of learning, to write, read, and cast accounts, if it be desired, as diligently and as carefully as he is able to teach and instruct them: and so diligently to follow the said employment at all such time and times this year ensuing as the weather shall be fitting for the youth to come together to one place to be instructed; and also to teach and instruct them once in a week or more in some orthodox catechism provided for them by their parents or masters; and in consideration hereof we have agreed to pay or cause to be paid unto the said John Legat the sum of £20 in corn and cattle and butter, at price current, as payments are made of such goods in this town, and this to be paid by us quarterly, payments £5 every quarter after he has begun to keep school."

Haverhill, in 1685, made this agreement through their selectmen: "We, whose names are underwritten, have agreed with Mr. James Chadwick to keep the school, to endeavor to teach such as shall resort to him as they shall desire, to read, or write or cypher, or all of them, until the next annual meeting in February next. For which service of his, he shall be paid by the town in general three pounds in corn, besides what he shall have or agree with the scholars for, or their parents or masters; or for want of agreement, the said Mr. Chadwick in his demands not to exceed what usually is paid in other places for schooling; viz, to have by the week for a reader four pence, and for a writer, six pence."

Dorchester, in 1655, made this contract with Ichabod Wiswall: "First, the said Ichabod, with the consent of his father, shall from the 7th of March next ensuing until the end of three full years from thence be completed and ended, instruct and teach in the free school in Dorchester all such children as by the inhabitants shall be committed unto his care, in English, Latin, and Greek, as from time to time the children shall be capable, and also instruct them in writing as he shall be able; which is to be understood such children

as are so far entered already as to know their letters and to spell somewhat; and also provided the school house from time to time be kept in good order and comfortable for a man to abide in, both in summer and winter, by providing fire seasonably so that it may neither be prejudicial to master nor scholars; to and in case of palpable neglect and matter of complaint and not reformed, it shall not bind the master to endanger his health.

"Secondly, that the selectmen of Dorchester shall from year to year, every year, pay or cause to be paid unto Ichabod or his father by his assignment, the full sum of £25, two thirds in wheat, pease or barley, merchantable, and one third in Indian, at or before the first of March, during the three years, yearly, at price current, which is to be understood the price which the General Court shall from time to time appoint."

A few votes are found indicating that even the ancient schoolmaster needed to be looked after. Among the rules for the government of the master at Dorchester in 1645 was this: "That the schoolmaster shall diligently attend his school and do his utmost endeavors for benefitting his scholars according to his best discretion, without unnecessary absenting himself to the prejudice of his scholars and hindering their learning." At Northampton, in 1685, a master was engaged "to keep school one year, provided he keep ten months certain in twelve, and in case he be absent two months, to make up the time at the year's end." Wallingford, in 1713, appointed a committee of two "to see that the teacher keeps his hours." At Providence, in 1767, a committee proposed "that the masters in each school during the common school hours shall be obliged to give a constant attention to the duties of their office, and not engage in any employ that might impede the due instruction of the youth under their care." But the recommendation was rejected.

Some enlightenment is found in these three pictures of the olden schoolmaster. John Adams, in a letter to his friend,

Richard Cranch, said: "When the destined time arrives, he enters upon action and as a haughty monarch ascends his throne, the pedagogue mounts his awful *great chair* and disposes right and justice through his whole empire; . . . sometimes paper, sometimes his penknife, now birch, now arithmetic, now a ferule, then A B C, then scolding, then flattering, then thwacking, calls for the pedagogue's attention."

From Boxford comes this account of a master: "Browned by the sun and heat while cultivating his arable acres; his hands like those of the sturdy yeomen rather than a schoolmaster's; his gestures and walk betokening the commanding position which he holds; all are brought to our eyes while we hear him affirm that g-e-s spells guess."

Abraham Perkins taught the moving school in Sanbornton, New Hampshire, for several years. "He always wore the three cornered cocked hat made of wool or felt as did the minister. His coat was single breasted and home-made with a broad tail. His breeches were of velvet with silver or plated buckles at the knees. He carried a large ivory-headed cane, and he customarily saluted his pupils on entering the schoolroom."

Dignified in demeanor, stern and forbidding in aspect, harsh, often cruel, in action, the schoolmaster typified the spirit of the age, and although the colonies were often weary and heavy laden, yet under all their burdens they never wholly abandoned him, but provided for him as one of the pillars upon which their future depended.

V

SCHOOLMASTERS' SALARIES

To understand the nature and value of the salaries paid schoolmasters, it is necessary to make a brief survey of colonial finances. At the time New England was being settled England was suffering from financial stringency, and the exportation of money was forbidden. Therefore there was very little English currency in the new settlements. The colonists were compelled, as primitive communities without money, to establish a system of barter, not an exchange of goods for goods, but a system of payment in certain commodities which seemed to furnish the best medium of exchange. In 1631 Massachusetts made corn legal tender for all debts at the usual market rates "unless money or beaver had been expressly named in the contract." A debt of twelvepence or less could be paid in bullets; forty shillings or less could be paid in Indian wampum. Connecticut and Rhode Island had similar legislation. Corn was the great staple, the center of much of the early colonial financiering. In times of scarcity attempts were made to restrain its export; in 1633 people were forbidden to feed it to their swine. "The rate was fixed from year to year at which it was received for taxes or debts. Fluctuations in the market value for the commodity led to great difficulties in regulating the currency of corn." Often rebates had to be allowed, as will be seen in some of the experiences of schoolmasters to be given later.

Town treasuries overstocked with this and other merchandise had to sell at a loss when the market price fell below the established rates. In 1662 Rhode Island made beef, pork,

and peas receivable at the market price. In 1674 wool at twelvepence per pound was made "a standard of valuation in assessing rates and in settling estates."

Towns accepted various home commodities in payment of taxes. In 1687 Hingham taxes were paid in pails; in 1693 Woburn taxes were paid in shoes; in the early 1700's Whately taxes were paid in grain and oxen. Church charges were paid in wheat, three pecks for each member. Taunton early manufactured iron, and pig iron was made the standard of value for that town. Maine made lumber the standard of value as late as 1781, when a thousand boards was reckoned equal to six and two-thirds dollars, and a thousand of good merchantable shingles equal to one and two-thirds dollars in the payment of taxes.

Weeden, speaking of the times from 1663 to 1690, says: "Men bartered peltry, wampum, or corn in terms of money. Taxes were levied not in solid coin or its paper representatives, but in farm produce, 'country pay.' Cattle walked into the public treasury; if fat, they gave currency to property and wealth; if lean, they walked out again, repudiated by the wary tax collector, because their spare shanks gave too much movement and too little solid value to this peripatetic currency of the public wealth. One of the pinching wants of the time was not only for quicker capital and more money, but for a better currency of that which they had."

What little coin there was in the colonies was largely foreign — the Spanish milled dollar, Portuguese and Dutch coins. To this was added in 1651 the Massachusetts Bay shilling, coined in Boston at a value of two pence less than the English shilling so that it would not be taken out of the country.

As a result of these conditions prices were rated in three forms, well illustrated by this account of the Connecticut situation in 1705. "Pay, money, pay as money. *Pay* is grain, pork, beef, &c at the prices set by the General Court that year; *money* is pieces of eight, Ryalls, or Boston or Bay

shillings as they call them, also wampum, viz., Indian beads which serve as change; *pay as money* is provisions as aforesaid 1/3 cheaper than as the Assembly or General Court sets it. . . . A six penny knife costs six pence in hard money, eight pence *as money*, twelve pence in *pay*."

The great debts entailed on the colonies because of the many Indian and colonial wars forced them to paper currency as a means of relief. Massachusetts made the first issue in 1690. In 1692 it was ordered that the notes should "pass current within this province in all payments equal to money," and various other issues or "emissions" were made by all the colonies after this. The value of these bills could not be maintained even by strong colonial enactments and they depreciated rapidly. As evidence of this depreciation, in 1710 an ounce of silver was worth eight shillings in colonial bills, in 1744 it was worth thirty-two shillings, and in 1750 it rose to sixty shillings. Such fluctuations made all business relations very uncertain, and the salaried man, then as now, suffered.

A pamphlet issued in Boston in 1720 on the stringent money conditions speaks of the hundreds of warrants issued each court "against good honest housekeepers, who are as willing to pay their debts as their creditors would be and have wherewith to pay, but cannot raise money . . . and this because they are obliged to work for half, nay, some for 2/3 goods, and their creditors will take nothing but money."

From this currency condition grew the new terms "old tenor" and "new tenor." "Old tenor" referred to bills issued before 1737; "new tenor," to those after that date. One shilling new tenor was worth about four shillings old tenor.

The extent to which this combination of money and commodity entered into educational matters is shown by the Harvard College account book from 1650 to 1659 as quoted by Palfrey. While some money was paid, most of the college expenses were paid in produce, as "a sheep weighing sixty-seven pounds; two bushels of wheat; thirty-five pounds

of sugar; eight bushels of malt; a bushel of parsnips; thirty pounds of butter; three bushels and three pecks of apples; four quarters of a wether; three quarters of a lamb; a quarter of beef; a fat cow; eighteen yards of satin; five yards of kersey; three yards of yellow cotton; two thousand nails." Even Governor Dudley paid most of his son's college bills in Indian corn.

The following, taken from the account book of John Pynchon of Springfield, shows more clearly the proportion of real money used in such transactions. He sent his son Joseph to Mr. Corlett's grammar school in Cambridge in 1654, and John the next year.

April the 11th, 1654. I left my son Joseph at board with Goodman Beale of Cambridge, whom I am to allow for his tabling £10 per annum.

April 17th, 1654. Paid Goodman Beale in money,	£2–10
April 31, 1654. Paid him in money,	1–00
October, 1654. Sent him from Mr. Peck of New Haven	
2 firkins of butter weighed neat 57 lbs. a piece,	2–17
The 2 firkins,	0–03
Paid in cloth by Bro. Davis,	2–10
Paid by my Bro. Davis in money,	1–00
In all for a year's tabling,	10–00
31st of August 1655, Paid Goodman Beale 6 yds. of fine serge	
at 6s. 8d. per yd.	2–00
Paid in money 20s., more in money,	2–00
In wampum,	0–00
April 11th, 1654, Joseph Pynchon went to school with Mr. Corlett:	
April 17th, 1654, Paid Mr. Corlett toward Joseph's	
schooling in money,	0–10
By my Bro. Davis,	1–00
More by my Bro. Davis,	1–00
Paid by 20 bushels of wheat,	4–10

£4 of it goes for Joseph's 2 years schooling to May, 1656, and so there is £3 onward to Joseph and John's next year.

The application of these monetary conditions to the payment of the schoolmaster's salary can be readily divided into

two periods, that previous to 1700, when most of the bargains stated clearly not only the amount of salary but in what it was to be paid, and that after 1700, when, though paid largely in currency, it was much affected by the depreciation. The agreements given in the preceding section show somewhat the workings of the first period, but a fuller exposition is warranted. Many town votes specify the quantity of pay but not the quality; others are very particular through a long period of years. Amesbury's earliest teacher was paid "in provisions." The Dedham master of 1659 received a salary of five pounds per quarter "to be paid half in wheat and half in other corn." The phrase "one half in wheat" is very common in the records. At Dorchester, in 1657, Thomas Wiswall "desired 14 bushels of Indian corn in part pay for his son's teaching school." Three years later he "had a bill given him to receive of the constable 18 shillings and 6 pence in satisfaction for the loss he sustained by reason of the loss of the price of Indian corn which he received for that which was due to the schoolmaster."

A series of votes from the Dedham records give a very clear view of salary payments.

In 1670 the schoolmaster agreed to continue on the old terms, "provided he receive no Indian corn upon this account for more than 3 shillings per bushel." The year before he had been paid wholly in "corn at price current."

In 1672 two bills are given, one to "Mr. Samuel Main to receive of the constable 8 pds. 10s. in full satisfaction for all dues to him for keeping the school in Dedham. This is to be paid in Indian corn at three shillings per bushel"; and the other to "Mr. Burroughs to receive of the constables £3 5s. and £3 1s., one half in Indian corn and the other half in English grain."

In Dedham, 1679, "Agreed with Thomas Batteley to keep a school in Dedham for the space of half one year, and to begin the 17th day of this inst. and to teach all the male

children that shall be sent to him to read and write and cast accounts according to the best skill he hath, and whatsoever else is proper to scholars that he is capable to teach them, only he reserves to himself four or five weeks in case he cannot dispense his business without, he abating so much as the time is he improves for himself out of his wages, or procures one that may be sufficient to instruct the children in his absence, and for his recompense he is to receive of the town 10 pds. in corn at country prices as now they are current according to the Court order."

In 1685 a schoolmaster was engaged "for the space of one half year absolutely, and so much longer after the half year is out as he can without damage to himself. For which service that half year he is to receive £7 in corn pay and £5 in money, and so proportionally for what time he shall continue longer in that service."

In 1690 the selectmen made return "that they have hired Thomas Batteley to keep the school two months, December and January next ensuing, for which service he is to have for a recompense £3–6–8 in corn, Indian at 3s. per bushel, rye at 4s. per bushel."

In 1691, "Agreed with Joseph Lord to keep the school one half year, for which he is to have for his pains £15 as followeth, £5 in current money, and £10 in corn at price current."

At Rehoboth, in 1680, "the townsmen, acquainting the town that they had a treaty with Mr. Edward Howard to teach school, acquainted the town with the said Mr. Howard's terms, viz.; twenty pounds a year in country pay and his diet, besides what the Court doth allow in that case." The terms were accepted, "Mr. William Sabin freely proffering to diet him the first quarter of the year." In 1683 "at a town meeting, the townsmen presented Mr. Taylor, a schoolmaster, and the propositions that he and the townsmen treated upon, viz.; that he should have for the present year £5 in money,

£10 as money, and his diet; upon which the town voted that he should be engaged for the year."

In 1699 the schoolmaster was to receive "thirteen pounds, one half in silver money, and the other half in good merchantable boards, at the current and merchantable price."

In Norwich no schoolmaster is mentioned before 1677 when "John Birchard occupied the teacher's chair and was engaged to keep nine months of the year for £25, provision pay."

Windsor, Connecticut, in 1674, treated with Mr. Cornish: "His terms were £36 per year. Some wished children to pay 5 shillings per quarter, others wished the town to pay the whole expense." In May of the next year "the townsmen agreed that Mr. Cornish should have something out of what we have in hand of the town rate . . . to take it in the kind it is brought in."

In 1698 the master was "to receive £20 besides that which is given of gift money." An agreement was made with a master later, and his "salary is to be £35 in country pay or two-thirds of so much in money."

In 1683 Guilford voted the school teacher "£30 salary, two-thirds to be paid by the town and the rest by those having children taught. Payment might be made in winter wheat at 5s. a bushel, good meslin [meslin is wheat and rye grown together] at 4s. 6d. a bushel, rye at 3s. 6d. per bushel, Indian corn at 2s. 6d. per bushel, oats at 2s. a bushel, barley at 4s. a bushel, and flax well dressed from the swingel at one shilling a pound."

At Lynn, in 1681, the minister was also the schoolmaster. The amount of salary seems to indicate that it was for both positions, as it is much larger than that usually allowed the schoolmasters in other places at that time. "£80 lawful money a year for salary; one third of which was to be paid in money, and the other two thirds in articles of domestic production at stipulated prices. Besides the salary a contribution was kept open."

Boston seldom mentioned how the master's salary was to be paid, most votes merely giving the amount "from the treasury," but in 1684 a master was elected to conduct a writing school, "for which the town is to pay him £10 in money and £20 in country pay as money or at money price." The next year it was agreed that he should have "£10 added to his salary the year ensuing, which will be £40 for said year."

A meeting was called at Haverhill in 1685 "in order to a supply and the providing a fit person to keep school in this town, and make it his only employ to instruct the children or young men or any of the inhabitants of Haverhill in reading and in writing and in cyphering." The selectmen were given full power until the next annual meeting, but were limited not "to give him on the public account more than £4 in corn till that time."

At Taunton, in 1685, "the schoolmaster, as well as the minister of that early day, was paid at public expense, as a public benefactor and a public necessity, in the currency of the time, iron."

Here is a sample order from an early settler to pay Mr. Green the schoolmaster's rate:

Ensign Leonard, I pray to let Mr. Green have four shillings more in iron as money, and place it to my account.

June 20, 1684. James Walker.

Iron orders were numerous in all Taunton business transactions.

At Rehoboth, in 1699, "the selectmen made an agreement with Thomas Robinson of this town to keep a reading and writing school for the term of three months, to begin the first or second week in April, at the farthest; and for his labor he is to have £3, half in silver money, the one half of it when he has kept half the term, and the other half when his quarter is expired; the last part of his pay in corn equivalent to money."

At Deerfield, in 1703, a committee "bargained with Mr. Jno. Richards to pay him for the teaching of their town children for the year £25, in manner following; that is to say they have by bargain liberty to pay him the one third part of said sum in barley and no more; the other two thirds in other grains, that is to say in Indian corn, pease or rye, in any or all of them, oats wholly excepted; all these aforementioned to be good and merchantable."

At Springfield, in 1709, it was voted to pay the schoolmaster "forty pounds in grain, viz., pease, rye, Indian corn and barley, at the ancient town price."

Payment of commodities extended beyond the beginnings of paper currency, especially in the newer settlements, but it became a constantly decreasing factor.

At Norton, in 1720, the schoolmaster's salary was thirty pounds, one third money, two thirds "other pay"; then it was "thirty pounds in the produce of the town"; and still later "the selectmen shall agree with said Wethercll for his service, and he shall be paid in the produce of the town."

Mendon, in 1701, voted to make this arrangement with a teacher: "And for this or any other person's encouragement in said work, the town shall pay £10 in good current pay at money price, and each person sending children to school to pay one penny a week." The matter was left to the selectmen, and they made an agreement with a schoolmaster "to keep school one half a year and to begin on Monday, the 14th of April next, and for his encouragement to have £5 in good current pay at money price, and one penny a week for every child that comes to school."

In 1721 this agreement was made: "If he kept constantly at the schoolhouse, he was to be paid at the rate of £28 per annum, if he kept a moving school, he was to be paid at the rate of £30 per annum, and if he kept the school throughout the year, he was to be paid 3/4 in money and 1/4 in provisions at money price. Any lost time was to be 'reducted.'"

When Stephen Longfellow was master at Portland, 1745–1760, much of his pay was in cordwood and produce.

This receipt shows a late date in the use of "country pay" at Sutton, New Hampshire:

> March 21, 1792. Then my son Robert Hogg received 17 bushels of rye from Simon Kezar of Sutton which was due to me for teaching school two months in Sutton. per me Robert Hogg.

In reckoning the real value of the schoolmaster's salary it is necessary to know that the pound was worth but three and one-third dollars; it was not the pound of to-day. The amount of the salary varied according to the wealth of the community; there was no real standard, though there was this similarity: the salary of a grammar master was always somewhat greater than that of the writing or English master. Marblehead, in 1675, paid the first schoolmaster forty pounds; in 1725 it was voted to engage a man "at a salary of not more than £80 for the first year." This apparent doubling of the salary was undoubtedly due to the low value of the currency. In 1676 Newbury engaged a master and the selectmen agreed "to pay him £10 out of the next town rate." In 1691 it had advanced to thirty pounds. In 1701 Scituate paid twenty pounds. Dorchester, in 1661, selected a master and "hath promised him for his work £25 for this year." Hadley elected a schoolmaster about 1700 and paid him twenty-seven and one-third pounds, or ninety-one dollars, a year. He remained at this salary for eighteen years. In 1693 Boston paid Ezekiel Cheever sixty pounds in money. Andover, in 1723, paid forty-four pounds. Westford, in 1735, voted "to raise £20 money to pay the schoolmaster." Falmouth, in 1737, raised the schoolmaster's salary to thirty-five pounds. Duxbury, in 1749, paid thirty-seven pounds ten shillings for keeping school one quarter of a year. This was in the depreciated currency, for in 1723 the salary was only twenty-seven pounds. Bristol, in 1724, voted "the salary to be £50 if he is single, £60 if married."

In the New Haven Colony twenty pounds a year was paid to Ezekiel Cheever for the first two or three years, "but that not proving a competent maintenance, in August, 1644, it was enlarged to £30 a year."

Plymouth, in 1696, paid the master thirty-three pounds. Framingham paid the grammar master seventeen pounds in 1715, thirty pounds in 1720, and forty-five pounds in 1724. Portland, in 1733, paid at the rate of sixty pounds a year, and in 1740 the schoolmaster received one hundred thirty pounds, old tenor, worth about eighty dollars. In 1680 Medfield engaged a schoolmaster "to keep school for the year for £25, £10 in money, the rest in country pay." In Springfield, in 1678, the schoolmaster received twenty pounds; in 1709, forty pounds. At Harvard, in 1718, a graduate of Harvard College was hired "at a salary of £40 a year, just half the annual stipend of the minister." At Watertown "the earliest mention of the pay of a schoolmaster was January 6, 1650, when £30 was voted for Mr. Richard Norcross; and this continued to be the salary with little variation, except as to manner of paying it, for about seventy-five years, with a few exceptions about 1715 or '20, when it was £36."

Beverly, in 1686, voted to have a schoolmaster, "provided that said committee do not exceed £20 in pay or £10 in money for said teaching one whole year from the date hereof." In 1704 the salary was thirty pounds for grammar-school studies.

At Roxbury, in 1649, "the Feoffes have agreed with Mr. Hanford to teach the free school the next year, . . . and for his wages we do promise to give him £22."

A series of votes from different parts of New England, covering about a hundred years, will show clearly this apparent fluctuation of salaries.

In 1675 Watertown "agreed with Mr. Goddard to keep the school in this town for a year, his year to begin the

5th of April, 1675, and the town to allow him for his salary £30 and a fortnight's time at hayfill, and his salary to be paid out of the town rate that shall be made in the year '75."

Farmington, Connecticut, in 1684, "voted that the town would give £25 as a town by the year for the encouragement of Mr. James to teach school, and so proportionably so long as he and the town shall agree."

Northampton, in 1692, voted "to give £40 per year for a schoolmaster that might be attained for it for that work, and the above said sum of £40 they agree to pay for one year and the scholars to go free."

At Sandwich, in 1695, ten pounds was appropriated for the schoolmaster. This continued until 1707 when "an appropriation of £20 was made to secure the services of Mr. Thomas Prince," and the provision was made that "they who send shall pay £10 more."

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1696, voted "that £30 money per annum be allowed said schoolmaster as a salary, to be raised as the law directs." Twenty-one persons "dissent against the vote for said schoolmaster's salary." In 1701, "then agreed that we will allow and will pay in behalf of the town such schoolmaster for his settlement amongst us £40 per annum."

At Braintree, in 1701, "the said inhabitants voted that Sir Veasey, John Veasey, should be the schoolmaster for the present year if he and the selectmen can agree, they to agree with him as reasonably as they can." The agreement was for thirty pounds for one year.

Sudbury, in 1703, voted a salary of twenty-eight pounds, "he deducting a month's pay . . . for his being absent one month in summer time from keeping school, which amounteth to twelfth part of time."

Harwich, in 1715, voted "to give our schoolmaster £48 a year for two years." In 1717 "Mr Phillip Selew was

engaged as schoolmaster at £48." In 1719 Mr. Selew was still schoolmaster at a salary of fifty pounds. In 1741 the salary of the schoolmaster, still Mr. Selew, was eighty-six pounds. In 1742 Mr. Selew received a salary of one hundred pounds, one half the minister's.

Lancaster, in 1718, voted "to have Mr. Samuel Stow for a schoolmaster for the year ensuing, beginning the first day of May current, and to allow him £40 for the year; or proportionable for what time he shall serve; and to raise the same by the next invoice."

Newbury, in 1719, voted "to give Mr. John Woodbridge £40 for the ensuing year to keep a free school for Latin scholars, readers, writers, and cypherers, and £60 for maintaining schools in the remote parts of the town." In 1731 the same man "was chosen grammar schoolmaster for the year ensuing and shall have £45 for his services and shall have none but Latin scholars."

Cambridge, in 1684, "voted on the affirmative, that Mr. Elijah Corlett shall be allowed and paid out of the town rate £20 for so long as he continues to be schoolmaster in this place." In 1691 "it was put to vote whether there should be given by the town in common pay annually, to a schoolmaster, £12, and it was voted on the affirmative." The next year "it was voted to pay the schoolmaster £20 per annum in common pay." In 1737 it was "also voted that the sum of £40 be paid Mr. Hovey for his service as schoolmaster for the year ensuing."

When Easton was incorporated in 1725 it was ordered to "procure and maintain a schoolmaster to instruct their youth in writing and reading." No action was taken for over a year, and then when it was proposed in town meeting some one moved the salary be made equal to the minister's. It was instantly voted down. Motions for forty pounds, thirty pounds, twenty pounds, ten pounds, and five pounds were successively made and lost. Finally it was "voted and agreed

to give £3 to a schoolmaster for one year to teach youths to read and write, and to keep it at his own house and to find himself diet."

Oxford, in 1740, voted the "master is to be paid out of the town's treasury £60 in bills of public credit of the old tenor or the equivalent." The master seven years later gave this interesting receipt:

Oxford, May the 8th, 1747:—

Then reckoned with the selectmen of Oxford and received £60 in full for keeping a school in said Oxford from the beginning of the world to this day, I say received for me.

Richard Rogers.

Amesbury, in 1709, employed a master "to teach to write and cypher and not to exceed £8, and one quarter part of it to be money and the other three quarters as money." In 1796 a schoolmaster was employed for seven months at eighteen dollars per month. In 1800 there were four male teachers. "The pay was small, one receiving but twenty-eight dollars for thirteen weeks, and another, an experienced teacher, but four dollars per week."

Braintree, in 1764, "voted that Mr. John Usher's account for keeping school one year and a half, . . . amounting to £1050, old tenor, be allowed and paid out of the school treasury." A Spanish milled dollar at that time was worth seven pounds in old-tenor bills.

An old schoolmaster, Deacon Hawes, says: "At the close of the Revolution, I commenced teaching a town school in Yarmouth at seven dollars a month and boarded myself, which was then about equal to seamen's wages in Boston; . . . the highest wages I ever had was thirty-five dollars per month."

At Dorchester, in 1791, Mr. Francis Perry stated, "that his salary was £45, of which he had to pay £19–10 for board, and £12 for clothing, leaving him but £13–10 for his other expenses."

Outside of Boston the salary varied from sixty-seven to one hundred dollars a year, a seemingly small wage for a full year's

work, and a full year meant six days in the week, fifty to fifty-two weeks in the year. In Boston salaries ruled higher, and to show how they varied there and into what difficulties the masters were plunged because of the low salary and the quality of payment, I wish to quote quite extensively from their records.

[1650] "It is also agreed on that Mr. Woodmansey, the schoolmaster, shall have £50 per annum for his teaching the scholars and his proportion to be made up by rate."

[1670] "And it was further agreed that the said Mr. Cheever should be allowed £60 per annum for his services in the school, out of the town's rates and rents that belong to the school, and the possession and use of the schoolhouse."

[1720] "Amos Angier was chosen schoolmaster for the new writing school at the south part of the town, at £100 per annum."

[1728] "On motion of Mr. Nathaniel Williams for another usher or assistant in the school; Voted that there be allowed the sum of £80 for another usher of the said school, when a suitable person is provided to the satisfaction of the selectmen as usual; the money to be paid as usual from his being introduced."

"Inasmuch as the grammar school at the North End of the town, of which Mr. Peleg Wiswall is the master, is much increased in the number of the scholars and that no usher is allowed to assist him in his school; Voted that there be an addition of £40 to the said Mr. W's salary."

"Mr. Peter Blin, schoolmaster, asks for an addition to his salary and £20 is voted."

[1742] Mr. Peleg Wiswall petitioned for an increase in salary and it was "voted, that the town will not at present make any addition to his salary, but in consideration that the necessaries of life have been very scarce, and not purchased but at great cost, that the sum of £100, bills of the old tenor, be paid out of the town treasury unto Mr. Peleg Wiswall." The next year additions were made to all the masters' salaries.

[1745] "The petition of Mr. Abia Holbrook of the South Writing School, referred over to this time, setting forth that his salary which is now but £200 a year, old tenor, is not sufficient for his support and maintenance, and as it is his main dependence he prays the town would consider the same and grant him such a competency for his subsistence as may encourage him further to serve the town in the station he now sustains." One hundred pounds, old tenor, were granted.

[1747] Schoolmasters during the period of the depreciated currency had a hard time; there were petitions every year, of which this is a sample: "The petition of Mr. Zachariah Hicks, master of the North Writing School, setting forth that four years ago he had £280, old tenor bills, granted him in the town for his support, which at the time was to his full content and satisfaction, but within the course of years the currency of the Province has sunk in its value to that degree that the aforesaid sum is become very far short of answering the purpose for which it was designed, and he is thereby exposed to such difficulties as are too great an incumbrance to him in the faithful discharge of his trust, praying the town to grant him such further allowance as they shall think proper." One hundred pounds were added.

[1751] The masters' salaries were all voted in lawful money, fifty pounds for ushers, from eighty to one hundred twenty pounds for masters.

[1757] "The petition of John Tileston, setting forth that he has served a regular apprenticeship in one of the public writing schools in this town, and has for two and a half years had the favor of being appointed usher in one of them, where he now is; and he, having at this time just entered on the stage of life for himself, finds his board and expenses in it exceed your grant that was allowed him in his apprenticeship, and humbly praying that the town would allow him what further support they in their wisdom shall think needful." This was read and fifty pounds were voted.

[1764] "The petition of a number of the inhabitants, representing that Mr. John Lovell, usher of the South Grammar School, is about to leave town for want of a competent support, and therefore praying that some measure may be taken by raising his salary or otherwise to retain in the service of the town a person so well qualified for the education of youth, was considered and a motion made thereon, that the sum of £50 be given Mr. John Lovell as a gratuity for his services the present year, and as an encouragement to remain in the service of the town." So voted. Later in the year the salary was made sixty pounds and forty pounds "for encouragement."

During the British occupation of Boston the schools were closed, but in 1776 three were reopened and masters appointed, "said masters to depend upon the generosity of the town for an allowance."

[1777] "Mr. Samuel Hunt, master of the South Grammar School, petitions for an addition to his present grant on account of the rise of provisions." A committee was appointed and they reported "that they have attended that service and are of opinion that the present allowances to the several schoolmasters are not sufficient to support them." The masters were granted about one hundred pounds each.

During and after the Revolution salaries were readjusted in a unique way. This is a sample. Samuel Hunt was voted one hundred twenty pounds as salary, plus one hundred eighty pounds for six months "on account of the present high price of provisions." Others were similarly treated, and such votes are common for several years after this period.

How fully schoolmasters were paid may be seen by comparing their salaries with wages paid for other work. The minister was the most highly paid in those early days; rarely did the schoolmaster receive so much as one half the minister's salary. At the time Braintree was paying thirty pounds to the schoolmaster the minister received, in 1673, sixty pounds and house and five or six acres of land; in 1674,

eighty pounds "in wood part and corn at the country rate price which was barley 4d., pease 4d., Indian 3d., malt 4d."; in 1697 the salary was ninety pounds.

At Watertown "it is propounded that Mr. Phillips should have allowed him three hogsheads of meal, one hogshead of malt, four bushels of Indian corn, one bushel of oatmeal, half a hundred of salt fish, . . . for apparel and other provisions £20, or else £11 given him in money per annum, to make his own provisions if he choose it the rather." The master received about one third this amount.

Sudbury, in 1781, granted the Reverend Mr. Bigelow "for salary the ensuing year £74 in specie; also granted for a grammar school for a year £12."

Wages for manual labor were very low. Massachusetts made an attempt in 1630 to regulate the scale of wages by enacting this law:

"It is ordered that laborers shall not take above 12 pence a day for their work and not above 6 pence and meat and drink under pain of 10 shillings; no master carpenter, mason, joiner, or bricklayer shall take above 16 pence a day for their work, if they have meat and drink, and the second sort not above 12 pence a day under pain of 10 shillings, both to giver and receiver."

These regulations lasted about six months and were then repealed, but towns until after the Revolution passed numerous votes relative to wages.

In Sudbury, about 1650, it was "ordered that all carpenters, bricklayers and thatchers shall have one and twenty pence for a day's work, and common laborers eighteen pence. . . . That one shall take for mowing by the acre fourteen pence for every acre. . . . That a yearly covenanted servant, the best of them, shall take but five pounds for a year's service, and maid servants, the best, shall take but fifty shillings the year's service." As late as 1751 the town voted that "for highway work, eight hours be accounted for a day's work,

and two shillings shall be the price of a day's work, one shilling for a yoke of oxen, three pence for a good cart."

Hartford voted: "Nor any day laborer above 18d. in the winter and 2s. in summer, except planting time, and then not above 2s. 6d. a day; and the inferior sort under.... All day laborers which work without doors in the winter shall work nine hours for one day, and in the summer eleven hours."

Lunenburg, in 1742, "voted that men be allowed two shillings per day from this day to the last day of September for this present year, and one shilling and six pence from then to the first day of March next, and that nine pence be allowed for a pair of oxen a day and three pence for a cart." This vote was in May.

In Dudley, in 1777, the scale of prices was fixed by a committee and the selectmen, "Farmer's labor, middle of the summer, 3s. per day, spring and fall, 2–4, winter, 1s.–8d. The prices of entertainment for man and beast; for a meal of boiled and roasted victuals, 1 shilling, and for a meal of common pot-luck, 9 pence for a man, and all other eating to be in proportion to their quantity and quality, agreeably to the usual customs."

The inability of towns to meet their financial obligations made it necessary to reduce all expenses to the lowest limit. Many votes demanding that the selectmen and committees should obtain schoolmasters "as cheap as they can" should not be charged to New England "nearness" so much as to the attempt to live within their means and still obey the educational law.

Malden, in 1703, had as schoolmaster one Ezekiel Jenkins at "£3 for the year and the benefit of the scholars." The next year his price was thirty shillings and the benefit of the scholars. He continued on these terms until he died in 1705. On his gravestone are these words: "Malden's late schoolmaster from a painful life is gone to take his rest. His Lord hath called him home."

This benefit of scholars was fees and, in some cases, light manual labor. Thirty shillings and the benefit remained in force until 1709 when one Jacob Wilson accepted the place at "two shillings, paid him by the town," and the benefit. The next year the work was attempted for the benefit alone, but was soon given up.

Framingham, in 1718, appointed a committee to visit Mr. Goddard, who had previously taught their school at fifteen pounds per year, to "see upon what terms he will serve the town as schoolmaster for a year; and if he will serve as cheap or something cheaper than another, then they are to make a bargain with him for a full year." But Abraham Cozzens underbid at thirteen pounds, and he was immediately hired for the balance of that year and all of the next.

At Wallingford, Connecticut, in 1697, the selectmen were ordered to procure a schoolmaster "as cheap as they can."

North Brookfield, in 1728, "voted to agree with a schoolmaster for but one half a year at first and to be left with the selectmen to agree with a man as cheap as they can."

At Waltham, in 1738, a committee of two were "desired to treat with Mr. Timothy Herrington and agree with him, if they can, to keep the school for one quarter of a year as cheap as they can."

A similar intent to this "cheap as they can" is found in another form of vote.

Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1701, voted to have a schoolmaster "in case he can be obtained on reasonable terms."

In 1681 Dorchester had passed a like vote: "The same day it was voted that the selectmen are empowered to look out and to agree with a schoolmaster at the best terms that they can procure one."

Springfield passed two votes, one in 1687, "It being also propounded to do somewhat to have schooling go forward or to get a schoolmaster, it was agreed and ordered that the selectmen do take care to promote that affair to the best

advantage for the town, agreeing with a schoolmaster at the best terms they can"; and the other in 1690, "It was voted and agreed that the selectmen do use their diligent care to provide a schoolmaster to teach the youth and children to read and write and that they shall have full power to agree with any meet person for that work, and to indent with him though they give or engage more than £20 or the sum wherewith the town hath sometimes stinted the selectmen for their making any bargains without consulting the town."

Occasionally masters were hired not on a yearly basis but by the week. At Medfield, in 1668, a writing master received ten shillings a week; Marlboro, in 1696, paid eight shillings a week; Newton, in 1700, hired a master to keep school four days in the week at a salary of two shillings a day. At Northampton, in 1761, "Seth Field taught school during the fall and winter of this year and was paid by the town 10 shillings per week." In 1780 Samuel Reed was engaged to teach in the north precinct of Weymouth at his own offer, "6 shillings per week in money or its equivalent in necessities at prices before the war."

At Milton, in 1702, a schoolmaster was engaged to set copies for writing, "and the said selectmen do engage in behalf of the town, that he shall be paid for so doing, one penny for each copy in quarto, he bringing his account to the selectmen."

These variations from the custom of a yearly rate do not appear very frequently, however.

Boarding round, or "dieting" as it was called in its earliest days, was made a part of the schoolmaster's salary in a desultory way at first, but finally grew into an established custom.

Though "diet" is mentioned in a New Haven agreement in 1651, it is not often found until after 1700 and then only in scattered towns. The New Haven agreement reads: "The committee appointed the last Court to treat and agree with the schoolmaster acquainted the Court with what they had

done, namely, that he proposed to have £20 a year and the town to pay for his chamber and diet, which they have agreed with Mr. Atwater for 5 shillings a week. That he have liberty once a year to go see his friends, which was propounded to be in harvest time. That his pay be goods and some of it such as wherewith he may buy books, and defray charges in his travel. That if he be called away, not to the same work, but some other employment which may be for the honor of Christ, he may have liberty; and for this he will teach the children of this town, having the benefit of strangers to himself."

Sandwich, in 1709, voted the schoolmaster "the sum of £20 and his diet, he to board round." The next year it was twenty pounds, and it was provided that "those who send shall pay additional and board." This continued until 1713, when it was voted to pay "£60 in bills of credit per annum for three years." In 1751 the salary was again at the usual rate for a grammar schoolmaster (twenty pounds), but the next year a schoolmaster was "employed to teach the schools at a salary of £26–13–4 lawful money and board." In 1758 thirty-three pounds six shillings eight pence was voted and "every scholar to pay additional 4d. per week."

Gloucester, in 1711, made the master's salary "£8 per quarter and so much in addition as he should be obliged to pay above four shillings a week for his board." The same year Milton engaged a master for three months, "and for his so doing he is to have ten shillings per week for supporting himself unless he can be dieted for less than four shillings per week, then the said Paminter is to abate so much of the ten shillings a week for his diet, . . . and if he be wanting at any time, then he is to abate proportionable out of his wages." Mendon, in 1712, made an agreement for five months, stipulating that the master "shall have £5 paid him for his service and his diet the said time." The same year the schoolmaster at Yarmouth "was allowed £24 salary and 5 shillings per

week additional for board." Three years later the salary was twenty-six pounds "and the like sum provided for board." At Truro, in 1716, an engagement was made with the schoolmaster who was teaching for half a year "for the entire year commencing at the expiration of his present term for £40 and board himself." About 1730 the town voted to give the schoolmaster "for keeping school, after the rate of £55, in consideration of the charge he has been to in supporting the ancient people with whom he has lived the winter past."

In 1716 the schoolmaster at Braintree agreed to keep a reading and writing school "one half a year for six shillings a week ($1) and his diet." The next year "he received eleven shillings ($1.83) a week, he furnishing his own diet." Billerica, in 1718, voted "to give but four shillings per week for the schoolmaster's board for the future." Later they voted "to give Mr. Grimes our present schoolmaster £40 for one year, provided that he board himself." In 1727 Norton paid the master twenty pounds a year and his diet. They paid a bill for "dieting of the schoolmaster fourteen weeks at 6 shillings a week." Wages in Wenham about this time varied somewhat, but were equivalent to from four to eight dollars a month and board.

At Leicester, in 1739, Mr. Samuel Coolidge was paid thirty-eight pounds for teaching a grammar school for six months. "This sum, although an advance upon former wages of school teachers, was only $1.32 per week; but as the town provided board in addition, it might be considered a fair compensation when a laboring man was allowed 33 cents a day for himself and one half that amount for a yoke of oxen on the highway. The salary of the minister at this time was £150, old tenor, or $125."

The value of the master's board is indicated by these votes at Falmouth: in 1742 voted "that he who shall diet the schoolmaster shall have 9 pence a week of the last emission added to the former 5 shillings per week"; and in 1747

voted "that 8 shillings per week be paid for dieting the schoolmaster and no more."

Until 1747 the schoolmasters at Northampton boarded themselves. In that year the town paid the master's board, though there is no vote authorizing it. Fourteen pounds seven shillings was paid for board from October to April. After this the board of all masters was paid by the town. Sudbury, in 1751, engaged a schoolmaster for six months "for the sum of £12 exclusive of his board." In 1752 Rochester, New Hampshire, paid fifteen pounds in depreciated currency, worth about ten dollars, for teaching school sixteen weeks. The teacher boarded round in four families, one month in each, at thirty cents a week. The treasurer's account at Weston in 1753 contains these items: "Paid schoolmaster Cotton for his last quarter's schooling, £6–13–4. Paid Joseph Bigelow for boarding schoolmaster Cotton, three months, £3–9–4." Duxbury, in 1757, paid these accounts: "Boarding the schoolmaster 13 weeks if he makes it up, £3–9–4. Boarding schoolmaster 10 weeks, £2–13–4."

At Easton, in 1754, "the town then voted to pay for the boarding of the schoolmasters." In 1759 the grammar schoolmaster received six pounds per quarter; masters of English received less. The town paid the board, usually five shillings per week. Masters were expected to attend church, and one was voted "four shillings for finding him an horse to ride to meeting."

"Before the Revolutionary War schoolmasters received the equivalent of about one dollar and a half a week besides their board which was paid for by the district. In 1776, Samuel Randall's school rick hired Solomon Randall to teach school at six dollars a month and the said Solomon Randall to board himself."

Raymond, New Hampshire, in 1771, "paid Benjamin Cram for *dinnerin* Mr. Hodgkins ten weeks, 16 shillings." This gave about eight *cents* for each dinner.

In 1772 two months' writing school in Weston cost two pounds ten shillings; two months' winter school cost two pounds eight shillings, and an equal sum for boarding the master; while another master received seven pounds four shillings "for keeping a winter school and boarding himself three months." At Braintree, "Joseph Dyer taught in 1760 two months, for which he received $5 a month, boarding himself it is supposed, as no payment was made for his board. It is possible he may have been boarded by the parents of the children who attended the school." For twenty years the pay was generally about six dollars and sixty-seven cents per month.

In 1766 a schoolmaster in Amherst "taught six months or more in the year for three years; his pay was 32 shillings or $5.33 a month and his board." In 1774 writing masters in Framingham were paid five pounds per annum; six shillings per week were allowed for the board of a grammar schoolmaster, and five shillings for a writing master. "Northampton gave to her grammar schoolmasters who were all educated men only $80 a year and board down to the Revolution." But "in 1779 the town voted to pay Mr. Daniel Babbitt $100 continental currency per month and his board for keeping the town school." In 1780 board in Cambridge was fifty to fifty-five pounds per week. In 1781 it was voted "Master Whittemore's account of £1000 in old emission to be paid in new emission at one for forty." In 1783 a schoolmaster was engaged for three months "at the rate of £30 per annum and his board to be found for him, it being upon the same terms that Mr. Kendall kept it." At Milton, "in 1786, Roger Vose, afterwards Judge Vose, kept school on Brush Hill seven weeks for £3–5. Ebenezer Tucker boarded him for £2–2, leaving him for his service of seven weeks' teaching 38 shillings or not quite 5 1/2 shillings per week." In 1817 Medford masters received twenty dollars per month and board. Amherst, New Hampshire,

in 1778, "agreed with Mr. William King to keep a town school at 6 shillings per day and board him." They evidently looked for a cheaper man, for three months later it was "agreed with Mr. Brown Emerson to keep a school in this town at 35 shillings per quarter."

In 1797 the Dover (New Hampshire) salary for a reading school was "$16 per month, board included." In 1799 two masters received "$15.50, board included," and another received "$8 per month, boarding with Elijah Hussey at $1 per week." At Dublin, New Hampshire, in 1788, the schoolmaster "was paid for two months £5 4s., or $8.67 a month, which was probably higher than the average price. In 1790, Samuel Appleton had $8 a month for nine weeks."

Mr. Appleton writes of that period: "It was arranged for the schoolmaster to live with the family that would board and lodge him the cheapest. Having been informed where I was to board, I set out for my new home on foot, carrying the greater part of my wardrobe on my back, and the remainder tied up in a bandanna handkerchief. On arriving at the place of my destination I found my host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Fairbanks, ready and apparently glad to see me. They were to receive for my board, lodging, and washing, 67¢ per week. Their house was made of logs with only one room in it, which served for parlor, kitchen and bedroom. I slept on a trundle bed which during the day was wheeled under the large bed, where the master and mistress of the house reposed during the night."

Hartford district, in 1825, voted "that the master board around with the scholars." The master said, "Well, I know what that means, I shall be obliged to live on *squn* all winter." "Squn" is thus described: "When the farmer kills his hogs, it is customary to fry on the same day or the next, certain portions for the family dinner, consisting of the liver, pancreas or sweetbread, round robin, and perhaps the kidneys, possibly some of the thoracic viscera also. This was

called squn." These hogs were killed as the master went the rounds, so that there would be fresh meat for him.

Besides the salary some masters were allowed certain perquisites — land, schoolmaster's lots, and dwellings. The only one to be mentioned in this connection is the allowance for horses; in teaching the moving school this sometimes was included as a part of the agreement. There are several votes in the Dedham records bearing on this point.

In 1698, "Mr. John Fox is agreed with to keep the school and began that work the 29th of August and to receive £25 and *keep him a horse*." In 1700 in settling "their recompense due to said schoolmaster, £6 and 15 shillings, 13 shillings thereof is for keeping his horse at his own charge." Later, in 1700, "Sir Prentis began to keep the school and is to receive £25 for the year and keeping his horse with hay and grass." In 1746 Samuel Huntington, schoolmaster, came from Lebanon, Connecticut. "Agreed with him that he should receive £4 old tenor for his and his horse's time and expense in coming down, and £40 old tenor and his board for his keeping of school six months." In 1753, "Joseph Perry was paid for his last quarter keeping school in Dedham, and for paying for one horse journey agreed on to Groton." Glastonbury, Connecticut, in 1700, voted "Robert Porg to be schoolmaster, £3 for the first quarter, £2 for the second, himself and horse to be kept." At Yarmouth, in 1700, "besides his salary, provision was made for keeping his horse."

Low as these salaries were, they were not in the earlier years all paid directly by taxation. The idea that the parents of the children should bear all or most of the expense was dominant, and this resulted in various tuition rates. There were also certain rentals or endowments which were applied to the schoolmaster's salary. I wish to discuss the details of most of the forms of support in another section, but such votes as bear directly on the master's salary are placed here.

At Guilford, Connecticut, in 1646, "It is ordered that whoever shall put any child to school to Mr. Higginson shall not pay for less than a quarter's time at once and so shall be reckoned with all quarterly, though they have neglected to send all the time, at the rate of four shillings by the quarter to the treasurer"; and in 1668, "the town voted that the townsmen should seek and secure a schoolmaster and offer him £15 besides what will arise from the children's schooling." Votes in Watertown for a period of nearly fifty years attest to the rate paying within the town and also to some regulation with reference to the schooling of children not belonging to the town. In Watertown, in 1653, "The town and Mr. Richard Norcross are agreed that the said Mr. Richard shall have £30 for keeping a school this year ensuing, and for any privilege which comes of strangers he doth refer himself unto the town when his year is out." Later it was "agreed that Mr. Richard Norcross should have £3 as a gratuity for those scholars that come from other towns and the rest to return to the use of the town." In 1667 the selectmen "agreed with Mr. Richard Norcross to keep school for the year ensuing for £30 and the town agreed that the school should be free to all the settled inhabitants: children that their friends live in other towns to pay as before, and their payment to be deducted out of the £30 and the remainder to be made up by rate." In some cases tuition was to be paid for certain studies and by pupils of certain classes, and whatever was obtained in this manner was deducted from the sum the master was to receive from the town. In 1681 he received as salary "£25 and the benefit of Latin scholars over and above." The next two years he "was to be paid for scholars not of the town." In 1685 it was voted, "Those that send children to school to pay 3d. per week for each, and all short of £20 the town to make up to Mr. Norcross." In 1690 "the town allowed £15 for the schoolmaster's maintenance." In 1696 "they voted

£10 and certain privileges if Edward Goddard would keep school." In 1700 it was voted, "If Mr. Goddard will keep school the year ensuing, to grant him the remainder of the £10 granted for keeping school from August 15, 1699, and £10 more for the year ensuing, and the rates from the parents and owners of children." Evidently Mr. Goddard did not accept, for later in the year "Mr. Norcross was chosen to keep school for £10 and the usual rates from parents." Still later in the year the schoolmaster was "to have £30 in money." In 1706 the price with some added duties was "£40 and 4d. per week for all who send their children."

Mr. Corlett's school at Cambridge seems never to have been large, nor were the stated fees for tuition adequate for his support. The town had frequent occasion to supply the deficiency by special grant. In 1648 "it was agreed at a meeting of the whole town, that there should be land sold of the common, for the gratifying of Mr. Corlett for his pains in keeping a school in the town, the sum of £10, if it can be attained, provided it shall not prejudice the cow common." In 1649 three men "are appointed by the townsmen to measure out unto Mr. Edward Jackson the forty acres of land formerly sold him by the town for the payment of Mr. Corlett's £10 as a gratuity from the town." Again, January 29, 1654, "the town consented that £10 should be levied upon the inhabitants, and given to Mr. Corlett for his present encouragement to continue with us." In 1662 "the townsmen, taking into their consideration the equity of allowance to be made to Mr. Corlett for his maintenance of a grammar school in this town, especially considering his present necessity by reason of the fewness of his scholars, do order and agree that £10 be paid to him out of the public stock of the town."

At Wethersfield, in 1658, "it was ordered by the town that Mr. Thomas Lord should be schoolmaster for the year

ensuing, and to have £25 for the year, and also the use of the houselot and the use of the meadow as formerly." New Haven, in 1660, treated with a Mr. Peck to be their schoolmaster, "who propounded unto them the £40 per annum allowed by the jurisdiction, £10 per annum with a comfortable house for his dwelling and a schoolhouse and the benefit of such scholars as are not of this jurisdiction and such part of the accommodations belonging to the house lately purchased of Mr. Kitchel as he shall desire, with some liberty of commonage, all of which the town consented to." At Northampton, in 1664, "the town voted to give Mr. Cornish £6 towards the school and to take the benefit of the scholars, provided that he teach six months in the year together." In 1667 Weymouth voted William Chard "£3–10, the rent of the flats, in addition to his other pay." Salem, in 1668, voted the schoolmaster five pounds "for his encouragement for teaching of children for the year ensuing." In 1670 the schoolmaster was to have twenty pounds a year from the town "in such pay as may be suitable for him; to have besides half pay for all scholars of the town, and whole pay from strangers." In 1677, "He is to receive for each scholar 20s. a year, and if this is not enough to make £60, the selectmen will make up this sum, or if more than enough, to have it and the price of tuition for scholars out of town."

Newbury, in 1675, appointed a schoolmaster to have "£5 for the first half year and to have 6d. a week for every scholar." In 1677 the salary was twenty pounds plus "what they shall agree upon for the children that shall come to school to him." In 1695 the town voted "to give Mr. Christopher Toppan £20 yearly in money and £300 a year in good country pay so long as he carries on one half of the ministry among them and £30 a year so long as he shall keep a grammar school, the scholars to pay as they did Mr. Clarke." In 1696 the town offered Mr. Nicholas Webster thirty pounds a year in country pay to keep a "grammar

school, provided he demand but 4d. per week for Latin scholars and teach the town's children to read, write and cypher without pay." Hadley, in 1676, paid the schoolmaster thirty pounds, "a part from the school estate, and the rest from the scholars and town." At Billerica, in 1679, a Mr. Thompson became schoolmaster and continued for more than thirty years; there is no record that he was ever paid any salary until 1710, when he was paid one pound, and the same the next year. Though there is nothing recorded, it is very evident that his salary was paid by the tuition rates from the children. At Norwich, in 1679, "It is agreed and voted by the town that Mr. Daniel Mason shall be improved as a schoolmaster for the town for nine months in the year ensuing and to allow him £25, to be partly by the children, and each child that is entered for the full year to pay nine shillings, and other children that come occasionally to allow three pence per week; the rest to be paid by the town."

Springfield furnishes a very interesting record with reference to this combination of tuition, rent, and town allowance. In 1677, "further, the admittance and entertainment of William Madison as a schoolmaster was voted, he being to take three pence for those he teaches only to read English, and four pence per week for those he teaches both to read and write, as also four pence per week for those he teaches only to write, and the parents or persons are to allow no more; but the town for this year as an encouragement to him in this work do agree and promise to allow him the rent of the town land in Chicopee." In 1678 "it was voted and concluded to give Mr. Daniel Denton £20 salary for his encouragement in the work of a schoolmaster for the present year, he continuing in that work the term of an whole year, or in case it should so fall out that Mr. Denton attend not that work the winter season, then the vote of the inhabitants was to give him £12 and to allow him time to plant and dress two acres of Indian corn, in case he cannot provide it to be done for him

for his money. In this work the parents and masters of such as send their children or servants being to allow to the town according to the manner of their allowance to the schoolmaster the year past." In 1679 "it was further voted and concluded that Mr. Daniel Denton shall have the profits of the town's lands at Chicopee and £10 per annum, besides the allowance that the schoolmaster according to town order or agreement is to have of all such as send their children or servants." In 1683, "At this meeting it was voted, concluded and unanimously approved that Mr. John Richards, as he hath begun to teach the town's children, so that he should go on in this good and necessary work, and be the schoolmaster, and the town doth leave it with the selectmen to agree with him about his stipend, as also to determine what parents and masters shall allow for the teaching of their children and servants, and that the supply for the making of the schoolmaster's stipend shall be made by the town." In 1685 "it was further voted and concluded to invite Mr. Richards, the schoolmaster, to continue with us the next year, to keep school, and that the selectmen do indent with him for the salary. It was further agreed that all parents or householders be enjoined to send their children and servants and that all persons from the Round Hill to the Mill River that do not send their children that are above five years and under nine years, that said persons pay for such children for the space of half a year after the rate of two pence per week." In 1690 "it was further voted and agreed that all children from five years old to ten years old complete shall be by their parents sent to school, and if not, their parents shall pay or be rated for all such children to the schoolmaster, as if such children were sent by their parents or masters. This is to be understood of such as live in the town plat from the mill on the south up to Nathaniel Mun's house or thereabouts." In 1698, "Voted that Mr. Joseph Smith keep school till the 14th of January next ensuing, and those scholars as

have gone to him to school pay towards it and the rest the town pay."

In 1697 Hadley voted "that there should be a constant school in Hadley; the teacher to be paid wholly by the school committee and the town rate." But this did not continue. Men who had no children to send were dissatisfied and the town voted in March, 1699, "that one half of what the school estate did not pay should be paid by the scholars." Braintree, in 1679, voted "that Mr. Benjamin Thompson, schoolmaster, shall have for his salary this year the rent of the town land made up to £30." In 1701 the payment of the teacher's salary was in part by the scholars and the balance by a direct town tax. The same year it was voted "that the rent of the town lands formerly paid to the school shall continue as part of the salary; that the parent or master that shall send any scholar or scholars to said school shall pay for each scholar to the town treasurer for the support of the school five shillings a year, and proportionably for any part of it; that any person or persons living out of town who shall send any scholar or scholars to the aforesaid school shall pay twenty shillings a year to the town treasurer and proportionably for any part of it; . . . that what the rent of the town lands and the head money of the scholars shall fall short of the schoolmaster's salary shall be raised by a town rate equally proportioned upon the inhabitants of the town." At New London, in 1698, the schoolmaster's salary was "£25 per annum with a gift of ten acres of land in fee, over." In 1692 Reading "ordered that the money received from the sale of the old meeting house should be paid over to Mr. Brown in part compensation for the school."

At Marblehead, in 1698, Josiah Cotton was the schoolmaster. The town agreed to pay him fifteen pounds a year for his services and he received "six pence and a groat a week" from each of the scholars who attended the school. At Rowley, until about 1700, schoolmasters received five pounds

and rates from the scholars. At Wenham, in 1700, the selectmen bargained with a schoolmaster, that "he be allowed by the town his proportion of rates to county and town for the year ensuing from this time, besides what he shall have of those that he shall so learn to read and write." The town agreed to this action of the selectmen and also voted "if what the scholars shall pay for their learning shall not be sufficient satisfaction for the master that shall keep such school, the selectmen are empowered to make such further satisfaction to said schoolmaster as in equity and justice shall be convenient." At Eastham, in 1700, "it was voted to continue the town school and to pay the teacher 10d. per week for each pupil attending." Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1701, voted "the scholars to pay £15 and the remainder of the charging of the schoolmaster's salary shall be paid by the town according to their list of estates in the public list of the colony." Lynn, in 1702, allowed for the maintenance of a grammar master ten pounds and the tuition rates. Plymouth in the early years varied the payment: sometimes the town paid a fixed salary to the master; at other times he received an agreed-upon price for each scholar, and the deficiency was made up by the town. Colchester, Connecticut, in 1709, "voted to hire Thomas Brown to keep school two or three months and to pay him 20 and 4 shillings per month, as money, to be paid the one half out of the county rate, and the other half to be paid by the parents of the scholars."

An early Beverly schoolmaster's agreement with the selectmen was "to teach ordinary learning according to the utmost of his ability, and to take a faithful account and receive pay according to ordinary rates." His first contract was for the year, and if the payments of the scholars did not amount to twenty pounds, the town was to meet the deficiency; and if the payments exceeded that sum, he was to pay the surplus to the town. He continued to keep the school for several years. In 1716 a man agreed to keep school in Framingham for

fifteen pounds, "provided that those that send any children to be instructed at my dwelling house to pay 6d. per head per week." Duxbury, in 1730, voted "that Thomas Burton should keep their school the year ensuing or so much of said year as he shall tarry in said town and not remove out of it, and also voted that said Thomas Burton should not receive pay from the town for the time he did attend keeping the said school." This meant that he must depend on tuition fees. Middletown, Connecticut, in 1745, appointed a committee "to agree with the schoolmaster and set price what the weekly schooling shall be of the several sorts, and said schoolmaster to keep a true account of all weekly schooling, and if the weekly schooling and the income of the land do not make up the sum agreed for, then it shall be paid by the town." Boston, in 1753, "voted that Mr. Samuel Holbrook be appointed writing master at the school in Queen Street, to be allowed £60 per annum, and also allowed to improve the school for his own advantage out of school hours and to be entitled to the perquisites of the school (the fire money excepted)."

Towns had difficulty in collecting taxes, and schoolmasters had at times corresponding difficulty in collecting their salaries. This again, like the amount of salary, must be charged not to indisposition to pay but rather to inability. People and towns were poor, but everywhere there seemed to be the desire to deal fairly with the schoolmaster. When John Vinal, an usher in the South Writing School in Boston, petitioned the town "that an allowance may be made him in consideration of the straits and difficulties he has been reduced to by means of the smallpox," the town voted him fifteen pounds. An analysis of the actions of towns already given shows a constant tendency to be fair, even liberal, under all their stringencies. These suits, complaints, and petitions need to be interpreted in proper terms applicable to their times; modern terms do not give the proper solution. John Legat, elected

at Hampton, New Hampshire, as the first school-master, in 1649, was obliged to sue the selectmen the next year in an action of debt "for schooling and other writings done for the town." John Barsham, after 1662, sued for twenty-six pounds, "due by bill in consideration of keeping school in Hampton in 1661 and 1662 and for due damages." The jury found for the plaintiff twenty-nine pounds' damages and costs of court.

An illustration of the difficulty in collecting is this from Dedham, in 1660: "John Fayrebanke came this day and brought the rate made for the payment of Jacob Farrowe, sometimes schoolmaster in Dedham, and informed that there is a considerable part of that payment yet due from several persons, and that he, the said John, is assigned to receive the said debts. It is therefore proposed that some effectual course be taken by the town that the said debt be speedily paid according to agreement." In 1666 Ezekiel Cheever presented certain "motions," to the selectmen of Charlestown, among which was this: "Secondly, that they would take care that his yearly salary be paid, the constables being much behind with him." He had similar trouble in Boston, for in 1689 the town "ordered that Capt. Townsend pay Mr. Ezekiel Cheever £10, part of the arrears due to him from the town." And again in 1693, "Ordered that Mr. Ezekiel Cheever and the other schoolmasters be paid quarterly and that orders be passed to the treasurer for it. Mr. Ezekiel Cheever's salary to be £60 in money, and that Mr. Nathaniel Oliver be discharged from all former dues for the marsh hired of the town upon this payment of the present quarter's rent to Mr. Cheever." Previous to this he had appealed to the Governor in this manner:

"To his Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros:

"The humble petition of Ezekiel Cheever, the Boston schoolmaster, sheweth that your poor petitioner hath near fifty years been employed in the work and office of a public

grammar schoolmaster in several places in this country, with what acceptance and success I submit to the judgment of those that are able to testify. Now seeing that God is pleased mercifully yet to continue my wonted abilities of mind, health of body, vivacity of spirit, delight in my work, which alone I am any way fit and capable of, and whereby I have my outward subsistence, I most humbly entreat your Excellency that according to your former kindness, so often manifested, I may, by your Excellency's favor, allowance and encouragement, still be continued in my present place. And whereas there is due to me about £55 for my labors past, and the former way of that part of my maintenance is thought good to be altered, I with all submission beseech your Excellency that you would be pleased to give orders for my due satisfaction, the want of which would fall heavy upon me in my old age, and my children also, who are otherwise poor enough. And your poor petitioner shall ever pray, etc.

"Your Excellency's most humble servant,
"Ezekiel Cheever."

There is this recorded of Northampton in 1694: "At a legal town meeting the town, considering that there was money due to Mr. Stevens for keeping school, as by the return of a committee who were chosen to enquire into the matter did appear, the town then voted that those companies of selectmen in the several years that they were in office which indented with said Mr. Stevens should take effectual care in that matter, to see that he had his pay according to what they agreed for. And also to see what was behind in Mr. Timothy Edwards his dues, those selectmen who hired him to take care truly to pay him his dues and so from time to time."

In 1696 "it was voted by the inhabitants of Braintree that Mr. Benjamin Thompson, having many years kept a grammar school in the said town, should, beside the incomes of the town

land and rents thereof, have £10 added by way of salary for keeping the grammar school for the year 1696; he acquitting and fully discharging the town from all former debts or arrearages to this day on that account, excepting what he may or can obtain in any of the rates or constables' hands, which is yet due. Benjamin Thompson entered dissent." Boston, in 1701, "ordered that Mr. Richard Hinksman have a note for £22 for his last half year's salary and rent of the schoolhouse." The next year he was paid again by note. In Dedham, in 1705, "This day John Deane, late constable, came to the selectmen and gave an account that he had money by him which he had gathered of the school rate in the time when it passed without weighing, which the schoolmaster refused to receive at the value said constable had received, thereupon the selectmen did order said constable to bring in the money to William Avery, Senior, to receive it by *tale* and pay it to said schoolmaster by weight."

Boston seems to have been in constant difficulty over her finances, for in 1705 it was "ordered that the treasurer take care for the payment of the several schoolmasters, out of the first money he can procure." In Portland, in 1731, there is a record of an execution levied against the town by Cornelius Bennett, "the former schoolmaster, whose execution is to be satisfied." In the town warrant at Dudley, in 1743, Article IV read: "For the town to come into some method to pay the schoolmaster for his labor in schooling our children the winter past, either by raising the money for the same, or to convert the £30 raised some time past for schooling our children to answer now as far as it will go." This thirty pounds was appropriated for schooling in 1740, but seemingly was never used. At the meeting it was voted "that the money that was granted some time past for schooling our children shall be collected and paid into the town treasury to pay Mr. May for his service in schooling our children the winter past."

Boston, in 1762, furnished another proof of the difficulty in paying schoolmasters. Several of the masters presented a petition "setting forth that they met with great difficulties in obtaining payment of the several salaries which the town has been pleased to assign them, that notwithstanding a vote formerly passed for their payment quarterly, they have been to their great distress kept out of their pay from year to year, and for what they do receive at any time they are obliged to the friendship of particular gentlemen, who are, by the kind permission of the collectors, willing to pay their taxes into their hands; that your petitioners have some of them nine, some twelve, and some eighteen months' salary due to them, that they are informed that the greatest part of the taxes belonging to the town is already paid in or engaged to others, so that they have no prospect of any further payment till the new taxes are issued, which it is probable will not be done till some time in the next winter; that this delay of payment obliges them to purchase the necessaries of life at a disadvantage upon long credit or to become troublesome to their friends by borrowing money for their support, not to mention the continual solicitude and anxiety which such dependent circumstances necessarily create." It was "voted to borrow money to pay the schoolmasters and to allow them interest on their unpaid accounts."

Further difficulties are indicated in 1779, when a committee reported they "are sorry to observe the just complaints of the schoolmasters on account of their not receiving in season the sums which are granted them, and recommend unto the town that some method may be taken that they be timely paid in future, or at least interest may be allowed them for any deficiency, to enable them to pay on interest for what they are obliged to borrow for their daily support."

For several years previous to 1780 the schoolmaster at Marblehead had been Mr. Peter Jayne. He complained that his salary was not sufficient for the support of his family and he was granted sixteen hundred pounds in paper money for

six months' teaching. He had difficulty in collecting this, and made a new complaint that it did not prevent him "from being troublesome to his friends for a living." In 1781 the town voted him a salary of seventy pounds a year, "hard money." About 1790 Boston was again paying the schoolmasters in town orders. These were generally sold at a discount. Finally one master, Mr. Caleb Bingham, advertised "a town order for sale at a liberal discount." At a town meeting soon after he was ordered to apologize. He said: "I have a family and need the money. I have done my part of the engagement faithfully and have no apology for those who have failed to do theirs. All I can do is to promise that if the town will punctually pay my salary in future, I will never advertise their orders for sale again."

At Charlestown, in 1792, it is recorded: "The committee appointed upon the memorial of Mr. Payson, the schoolmaster, have attended that service and find that Mr. Payson has lost £50 in consequence of being obliged to sell his warrants for less than their nominal value in order to subsist himself and family." He was reimbursed by the town and twenty pounds added to his yearly salary. The following receipt shows a new phase; I have found no such record elsewhere:

"Roxbury, April 8, 1773.

"Received of Col. Williams of the feoffees of the grammar school a *bag of coppers* weighing thirty-four pounds in part of my salary for the year current, the same being by estimation £4–13–4 lawful money, and for which I am to be accountable, I say received in part, John Eliot."

The life of the early schoolmaster was not all joy. He could not say of wisdom, "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." The life was one of toil, with slender and precarious compensation. It was typical of the times, however, in which he, as well as every other man, must bear his share of the burden in developing a new country.

VI

THE DAME SCHOOL AND THE SCHOOL DAME

The dame school existed in three forms: the private neighborhood dame school, early present in every town, accounts of which are rare and practically unobtainable as they do not appear on the public records; the semipublic dame school, under sanction of the town, with some slight assistance from the town treasury, but mainly dependent on the tuition of the pupils; and the real public dame school, finally merging into the regular summer school with a woman teacher, and then into the public primary school.

The dame school was a necessity of the times. Boys were not generally admitted to the master's school until they could "stand up and read words of two syllables and keep their places"; girls were not admitted at all. The teaching of the simple rudiments was made a family, not a public, matter. Schools were not established in many towns until a generation after their settlement. The struggle for shelter, for food, for the church, precluded much attention to the school. The necessary rudiments had to be supplied by the family, and out of this necessity the dame school began. It was a common occurrence for some mother in teaching her own children to include other children in the immediate neighborhood. A typical account is this from Northfield: "The wife of Ebenezer Field, the smith, was the first teacher in town of whom a record exists. In 1721 she taught a class of young children at her own house for twenty-two weeks of the warm season, and charged four pence per week. She educated her own children well; her eldest daughter, Joanna, was the noted schoolmarm of the next generation. Mrs. Field

was a woman of great energy and versatility. We get but two glimpses of her life; the first when she is keeping school, making shirts for the Indians at eight pence each, making breeches for Ensign Field, her husband's brother, at one shilling six pence per pair, besides managing her household with four young children."

When the Indians attacked Deerfield, September, 1694, it is stated that "Mrs. Hannah Beaman, the school dame, with her young flock on the home lot next northward, started for the fort. It was a race for life; the dame with her charge up the street, the enemy up the parallel swamp on the east to intercept them before they should reach the gate. Fear gave wings to the children; the fort was reached in safety and the gate shut."

In Freeland's "Oxford" is a glimpse of another of these private schools: "The first dame school in Oxford of which there is any tradition was taught by Miss Betty Jermer. Miss Betty's home was about one mile easterly of the old north common; here there was no open road, only a bridle path passed the house, with gate ways or bar places for an occasional traveler to pass through; whenever the sound of a horse's hoof was heard Miss Betty and her pupils presented themselves at the door and passed their salutations. There was a heavy stone chimney to the house and a deep cavern-like fireplace, which in winter presented a cheerful fireside with its heavy log fire. The floor was scoured to whiteness and covered with the finest sand. Her instruction in arithmetic was oral, Miss Betty making the figures on the sanded floor with her rod, for teachers were thus armed in those days, and her pupils, with their square pieces of birch bark and bits of charcoal, copying the sums she gave them.

"The children, having walked long distances, were made very comfortable at the long recess, as their dinners were many times frozen, and sometimes their food required cooking. Miss Betty was devoted in her care for them in preparing

their frugal repast. Apples were roasted and nuts were cracked in profusion, and then with their old-fashioned games they had an enjoyable time."

The dame school existed in New Haven as early as 1651, for there is a record of a little girl brought into court in that year for "prophane swearing." She was charged with using such expressions as "by my soul" and "as I am a Christian." At the trial her mother testified that "she had learned some of her ill-carriage at Goodwife Wickham's, where she went to school."

Sudbury, in 1680, in a report on educational matters, mentions "two school dames, one each side of the river," but they were evidently supported by the parents, not by the town, as no mention of them is found in the town records. Samuel Sewall's diary for 1687 contains this entry, "That day Dame Walker is taken so ill that she sends home my daughters, not being able to teach them." And again in 1691, "This afternoon had Joseph to school to Capt. Townsend's mother's, his cousin Jane accompanying him. Carried his horn-book." Joseph at this time was not three years old. A hundred years later a dame school was opened in the basement of a shop in Keene, New Hampshire. By the original agreement for this school the subscribers "promise Mrs. Ruth Kidder the sum of five shillings a week for her services and five shillings for her board, and to furnish the necessary wood." About the same time in Windham in the same state one Rebecca Moffitt taught a dame school. It is said "that she lived in the schoolhouse for some years and taught the scholars each for a penny a day; and to conclude the school with an exhibition, the patrons of the school would bring spirits and treat them in the evening and also pay their dues."

It is only when these schools begin to be recognized by the towns and become semipublic that information of any real value is received. These schools received early recognition; in fact, they existed in both forms during most of the

wo hundred years under consideration. The Cambridge eport for 1680 says, "For English, our school dame is Goodwife Healy; at present but nine scholars." In the select-ıen's orders at Springfield, in 1682, is found this: "The electmen agreed with Goodwife Mirick to encourage her in ıe good work of training up of children and teaching chil-ren to read, that she should have three pence a week for very child that she takes to perform this good work for." Vaterbury, Connecticut, in 1702, appointed a committee to ire "a school dame for to keep school in the summer." Vestford hired a Mrs. Edward Bates during the years 1740) 1743; this was forty-five years before the town built a choolhouse. July 21, 1717, Lexington voted "that Clerk awrence's wife and Ephraim Winship's wife keep schools rom the day of the date hereof, until the last of October ext following; and if they have not scholars sufficient in umber to amount to five shillings a week, at three pence a cholar a week, during the term above said, then the town to ıake up what shall be wanting of the five shillings a week."

In Weymouth, during the summer of 1700, "women ere engaged to teach school for six months at twenty-five hillings each, besides the usual rate paid by those who sent hildren." This rate was three shillings for each child. At town meeting held in Haverhill, in 1707, one Thomas ayers petitioned "for a small piece of land to set a house n near the meetinghouse that so the said Ayers' wife might e the better accommodated for the keeping of school to ach children to read." The meeting very considerately oted "to lay him out a piece for that purpose, to enjoy uring *her* lifetime." Concord, New Hampshire, in 1744, oted "that such persons as shall incline to hire a school ıistress at their own cost may have leave to keep the school ı the schoolhouse until the town shall have occasion for uch house." Harwinton, Connecticut, in 1750, voted forty ounds, one half by rate and one half by tuition, "for hiring

of two women to teach children to read." This was an unusually large sum for such schools, but a similar amount was voted for several successive years. Newbury, in 1694, granted a "petition to erect a little house for the accommodation of a good and sufficient school dame."

Though towns granted these halfway measures of assistance, the general sentiment was that parents should furnish this elementary education. Under this system the poorer children suffered, though occasionally some public-spirited citizen made a bequest for them, or a town took some special action in their behalf.

At Salem, in 1729, Samuel Browne donated to the town two hundred forty pounds, one fourth of which was specified for "a woman's school, the interest thereof to be yearly improved for the learning of six very poor children their letters and to spell and read, who may be sent to said school six or seven months in the year." At Groton, in 1775, Josiah Sartell left his place to the town for rental; "and the overplus of said rents to be annually applied for the keeping of a good woman's school for the instruction of the youth in said town, and the said school to be kept in a part of the dwelling house standing on said farm." At Dedham, in 1758, Susannah Bittano left one hundred dollars "to establish a school to be taught by a woman in the third parish." One of the teachers, Miss Elizabeth White, gives this account of the school: "Being in the days of six per cent and of low salaries, the $6 per year gave the three weeks' schooling. Accordingly such a school was kept, sometimes in a neighbor's house, sometimes in the porch or vestibule of the church, and even one or two years in the horse sheds. It chanced to be omitted one year, therefore the large sum of $12 was accumulated, and I was asked by one of our old deacons if I should be too proud to keep the school for six weeks. . . . I was not too proud and accepted the situation, enjoying twenty-five little pupils in a room in my father's house."

In May, 1712, Charlestown voted "five pounds to place poor children at such women's schools as shall be allowed of by the selectmen, such children whose parents are not able to bring them to school." In Marblehead, about 1700, educational conditions had become very bad. The children of poor parents who could not read themselves were wholly untaught. The cost of the dame schools could not be met, and entrance to the master's school was denied without the knowledge obtained from the dame school. Finally a committee was appointed to investigate the matter and one hundred twenty-two boys were found who could not read. "To remedy this end, it was voted that the children of the poor should be taught the necessary branches to qualify them for entrance into the schools, at the expense of the town."

Medford, in 1794, passed a vote not to allow children under seven years of age to enter school, nor then unless they could read: "And as this regulation will probably exclude many who have heretofore attended, therefore it is voted, that the selectmen are hereby empowered to pay school mistresses for instructing those children who are excluded from the public town school and whose parents are unable to defray such extra expense."

Mr. Charles H. Morss, in his history of the Medford schools, says: "Under the authority to pay at the private schools the tuition of young children whose parents could not afford to do so, none seem to have availed themselves of the privilege till the year 1797, when Eliza Francis presented her bill for schooling Mrs. Butterfield's three children and received on Jan. 10, 1798, an order on the treasurer for $6.84." The town passed the same vote regarding the payment of tuition in 1799, again in 1800, and also in 1801, when they voted that "the interest of the money received for the land left the town by Isaac Royal Esq. be applied to pay the schooling of such children whose parents are unable to pay for them." Payments for young children were made from

1798 to 1822, even after the establishment of free primary schools. Fifteen different teachers received payments from the town during this period.

Some towns supplied dame schools from very early times, paying all expenses as they did in the master's schools and continuing this support throughout the whole period under discussion. There is a record in Woburn, in 1673, making the town "Dr. to Allen Converse's wife and Joseph Wright's wife for schooling, ten shillings." Mrs. Converse taught for a number of years after this. In 1686 Widow Walker was appointed "to be a school dame for the year, and to have ten shillings for her labor as the others had." And in 1692 the selectmen were sent "to speak with Mrs. Walker in order to keep a school for lesser children to learn them to read, and agreed with her to perform said service, the town allowing her, *in pay*, the sum of ten shillings per the year." "In pay" meant corn, rye, produce but not money; ten shillings in pay was worth only two thirds as much in cash — about six shillings eightpence.

Worcester, in 1731, placed this upon her records: "Whereas many small children cannot attend the school in the center of the town by reason of the remoteness of their dwellings, and to the intent that all children may have the benefit of education &c., voted, that a suitable number of school dames, not exceeding five, be provided by the selectmen at the charge of the town, for the teaching of small children to read, and to be placed in the several parts of the town as the selectmen may think most convenient, and such gentlewomen to be paid by the poll as the selectmen and they may agree."

At Salem, in 1712, "the people at the village voted five pounds to Widow Catherine Dealland for teaching school among them and invited her to do the same service another year for the like sum." The first school dame mentioned in the records of Windsor, Connecticut, was Sarah Stiles in 1717, and the next year it was voted "that the schools shall be kept

by women in the summer until October." Mendon, in 1732, voted to raise thirty pounds and also voted to "choose school dames to keep school in the outskirts of the town." Falmouth, in 1716, ordered that "Hannah Sargent be engaged this year as school dame, and that twelve pounds and diet per annum be allowed for her services, — only the agents shall obtain her as much cheaper as they can; the school to be settled in the four quarters of the town."

The annals of Salem for 1771 contain this: "Widow Abigail Fowler, a noted school dame, finished her earthly labors. She was in her 68th year, and began to teach children before she was 18, and continued so to do till her decease, with the exception of a few years after she was married." Her work then began in 1721.

Farmington, Maine, was settled in 1781; soon after the settlement "home education of the children was supplemented by the employment of female teachers and each settler was expected to yield a portion of his log house for a schoolroom when it came his turn. Knitting and sewing were taught as a part of the regular system of instruction, a practise which prevailed for many years." Women teachers received seventy-five cents per week, men from ten to fifteen dollars a month and their board.

An inhabitant of Industry, Maine, speaking of the conditions about the time of the Revolution, said: "An old maiden lady was employed occasionally a short time to teach children their letters and to spell out words. Her school was kept one month in my barn. She did what she could to teach the young ideas how to shoot, but was quite incompetent. I visited her school on one occasion and she had a small class advanced to words of three syllables in the spelling book, and when they came to the word 'anecdote,' she called it 'a-neck-dote' and defined it to be 'a food eaten between meals.'"

North Brookfield, in 1732, voted "that the selectmen be desired and empowered to hire and improve four women to

keep school in the most convenient places to accommodate the most children, for four months from the time they begin said school." Amesbury, in 1699, voted "to leave it to the selectmen to procure a schoolmaster or school dames that may supply the town." In 1707 it was voted "that the selectmen should hire four or five school dames for the town to teach children to read." And in 1709 it was voted "to hire two women to keep school and Widow Stevens and Goodwife Pregett were designated at salaries of eight pounds." In succeeding years school dames were hired for the whole town. But perhaps the most curious provision was made in Wenham in 1733, when an agreement with a schoolmaster read: "And whereas it is impracticable for all the children to come together in one place it is covenanted and agreed that he be allowed to teach little children to read by suitable women, in the several parts of the town, that he shall agree with, by the approbation of the selectmen; also to teach to write by another man in another part of the town."

At Billerica, in 1719, the selectmen "gave leave to John Hartwell's wife to keep school, to instruct children to read."

Amherst, in 1749, voted "to hire three school dames for three or four months in the summer season to teach children to read." In the same year it was voted for one of the precincts that three men be a committee "to hire three school dames for three or four months in the summer season, to learn children to read, said schools to be in the most convenient places in the precinct."

Medford, in 1817, for the first time authorized the selectmen "to employ one or more female instructors of the girls at the town school the ensuing year at their discretion." The schoolmaster's wife, Mrs. Abijah Kendall, "was employed for this work at twenty-five dollars a month and board, and from that time on for about a year and a half the husband draws with great regularity both his own salary and his wife's."

In 1819 a committee report on school matters contained the following items: "That the town contains 158 girls over the age of seven years. . . . That the town contains 117 children of both sexes over four years of age and under seven years of age, that require to be taught in the summer season by women teachers. . . . That the committee be authorized to employ three women teachers for six months beginning about the first of May, who are to teach the girls of all ages from four years old and upwards, and the boys from four years old to seven, unless they are sufficiently qualified to go to the master's school."

A committee was appointed to investigate the probable expense; they went farther and voiced vigorous opposition to this evident progressive step toward public primary schools. After quoting the vote of 1794, they said: "If the votes of the town are not to remain a dead letter; if the selectmen still retain the power therein contained; then it becomes a question how many of these 117 children there are whose parents cannot defray the expense of having their children under seven years of age instructed by one of the many school mistresses that are in town, and whether by agreeing to pay the schooling of such as cannot afford the expense there would be a necessity for new teachers. Your committee find there are six women teachers now in town who have with great industry and to the satisfaction of the parents and children, each of them got up a small school and gain their living by teaching those small children, and those women reside in such parts of the town as accommodates all. Therefore your committee for the above reasons regret exceedingly that any measures have been adopted previous to a thorough investigation of the subject, and do believe that the 117 might be instructed in the schools now kept in the town, to the entire satisfaction of all parties at a very little expense, certainly far short of the expense contemplated. The town schools in Boston give great satisfaction, yet the teachers have daily 150 scholars to attend to, and your committee do believe that one master the year

round is sufficient for all the boys that will attend in town." They then presented an array of figures to show that the proposed measure would cost the town one hundred seventeen dollars and sixty-eight cents more than the method in use. The town, however, stood by its former vote and the schools were established.

The amount paid school dames was exceedingly small, whether given by the parents or by the town; a few pence per week, or two or three shillings a year, for each child was deemed sufficient. There seems not to have been any accepted rate; each town made its own bargain. The lowest found was that paid in 1712 in Guilford, Connecticut, to one Sarah Hughes, who was "to be furnished by the selectmen with what she wants for her sustenance." This seems to have been all the pay she received. Westfield, in 1736, paid Widow Catherine Noble twenty-five shillings a month. Swanzey, New Hampshire, in 1785, voted "to pay Sarah Woodcock twenty-two shillings for her services in schooling in the year past in this town"; they also paid twenty-two shillings for her board. Westminster, in 1767, allowed Abigail Whitney one pound three shillings. fourpence, "for keeping school eight weeks lacking two days."

From 1758 to 1760 a reading and writing school was taught in Braintree by Mrs. Jonathan Fessenden; she was paid sixty-seven cents a week. In 1724 the school dame at Falmouth was voted "twelve pounds and diet, with use of a horse to visit her friends twice a year." At Medway, in 1718, two schools were established and their teachers, Ruth Hathaway and Widow Partridge, were paid nine shillings eight pence and six shillings fourpence, respectively. At Danvers, in 1713, Widow Katharine Daland received five pounds for teaching. This is probably the Catherine Dealland mentioned above as serving in Salem in 1712 for the same amount. Dames were employed during the summer of 1737 and received sixpence each week.

At Harvard, in 1795, a woman teacher was paid thirty dollars and her board for teaching fifteen weeks. At Norton, in 1791, an order was drawn to pay the school dame for teaching eight weeks at three shillings a week; she was also boarded for three shillings a week. Chelsea, in 1755, "agreed that Mrs. Tuttle keep school at the schoolhouse for one quarter at one dollar per week." In 1764 an order was given on the town treasurer "in favor of Mr. Abijah Hastings for the sum of £3–1–2–2, being in part for his wife's keeping school in the year 1763." Mr. Hastings received orders for his wife's keeping school until 1797. In 1786 she was paid ten shillings per week for "keeping school and boarding herself." The selectmen's records are full of payments made to men for their wives' keeping school, showing that dames were commonly employed in all the districts, such as this in 1765, "Gave an order in favor of Mr. Andrew Tucksbury for the sum of £2–6 lawful money, for his wife's schooling twelve scholars, each seventeen weeks and three days, at three shillings and two pence one farthing per week; . . . the above sum is in full for his wife's service." Deerfield, in 1728, voted the school dame ten shillings a week, but "liberty was granted to all farmers to procure school dames to teach their children, to be paid three pence a week for each scholar"; in 1733 the price was raised to fourpence and a few years later to five pence.

Weston, in 1803, voted that "each of the four school mistresses employed by the town to instruct children is to have a salary of $100 and four cords of wood."

Another form of valuing dame schools is found in a vote at Cambridge in 1802, when, in dividing the time, it was agreed that "twelve months of school taught by a female be reckoned as equivalent to 4 4/5 months of a master's school."

A similar vote is found in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1745: "If any of these schools should be kept by a woman, the time was to be doubled, as the pay of the mistress was but one half that of the master."

Hartford, Connecticut, in 1799, paid two dollars a week. With reference to the whole state system in 1828, it is said "the average compensation in addition to board is about eleven dollars a month for male teachers and a dollar a week for females. Many females, however, of considerable experience, teach at 75 cents a week; and some whose experience is less, at 62 1/2 or even 50 cents."

In New Hampshire, Salisbury paid seven shillings a week; Weare paid two or three shillings a week and board at two shillings; Dublin, in 1773, made its first appropriation for schools, four pounds, "to keep a woman's school in three parts of the town." This was equal to thirteen dollars and thirty-three cents, only four dollars and forty-four cents to each school. "But if the board of the teacher was paid by the town or by the parents of the children, and a room provided and furnished without charge, then the $4.44 would give ten weeks' schooling, provided the teacher received for wages only 44 cents per week; and it is known that even after this date female teachers received no more." In 1790 there is a record which shows that the school dame was paid for eight weeks at the rate of forty-four cents a week; after 1800 for about twenty-five years the rate was a dollar a week. Board was two shillings sixpence a week until about 1795, when it was raised to four shillings.

At Raymond, in 1769, "Widow Judkins was paid twelve shillings lawful money for teaching, and fifteen shillings were paid to Israel Gordon for going after her, boarding her, and carrying her home again." The term was four weeks in length. At Temple the teacher's wages were eight shillings per month; this was in 1782. A few years before Ensign Kidder had been paid two pounds two shillings eight pence lawful money "for his wife's service in keeping school in 1774." She had kept the school in her own house. As late as 1828 it was voted "to give Spaulding Boynton 91 cents per week to board the mistress and Capt. J. Brown 97 cents

per week to board the master." Of Marlboro, about 1800, it is related, "the price of board was for many years determined by vendue, the teachers being boarded by the one who would do it the cheapest; the price sometimes going as low as 60 cents per week. When this was the case, the teacher was sometimes reminded as she sat at the table, that the sum received was hardly sufficient to pay for her board and for this reason she must partake sparingly." It might be added that this method of setting the price for board was afterwards commonly used throughout New England with reference to the paupers.

The following receipts and accounts throw some light on salaries and other costs:

"District of Westminster Dr., To my wife's keeping school four weeks and four days, the sum £1–3–4. Nathan Pierce." This was in 1766.

Winchendon, in 1768, paid a bill of five shillings for "a horse to bring the school dame up and carry her down again." Another item is this: "The town of Winchendon to me Dr. for boarding the school dame, Mrs. Down, four weeks at three shillings per week, twelve shillings."

These two are from Henniker, New Hampshire, in 1774:

"Then received of Aaron Adams twelve shillings lawful money for my wife's teaching school. I say received by me, Otis Howe."

"This day received of the selectmen £1–1 of the town's money which is in full for seven weeks' schooling done by my sister. I say received by me, Thomas Johnson."

From Sutton, New Hampshire, comes this, dated 1791: "Received of Jacob Mastin and Hezekiah Parker, six bushels of rye, it being in full for my keeping school for them and others last fall, six weeks. Lydia Parker."

In the early 1800's wages were very low and the board of doubtful quality. Milford paid one or two dollars a week, and the board was put up at auction in the district meeting

and was often bid in as low as fifty cents a week. Easton paid one dollar and twenty-five cents a week and board, which was reckoned at seventy-five cents, and one case is recorded of a lady who taught for a dollar a week and boarded herself. Medford, in 1817, paid four dollars a week without board.

Private receipts were meager. In Dorchester, near the close of the eighteenth century, a school dame, Mrs. Jemima Smith, received but twelve and one-half cents per week from each pupil. The school was small and "she could not afford to have a dinner but once a week." The generous pupils frequently "brought her pieces of wood for her fire and simple food to eat." In Medford, in 1817, twelve cents per week bought "an abundance of motherly care, useful knowledge, and salutary discipline."

Because of these small returns the school dames were glad of opportunities to earn money in other ways. In the country districts they commonly spun for the family they boarded with, when out of school. At other times they are found doing the tailoring and dressmaking for the family.

The next step in the development of the woman's school was also a step towards the development of the district-school system. A certain part of the amount appropriated for the schools was allotted to the support of women teachers, and the expenditure of this money was frequently left to the squadron or district.

Framingham, in 1768, voted that "each squadron keep a woman's school sixteen weeks in the year," and twenty-five pounds were granted for this purpose; but it was also voted that "each squadron have liberty to employ men instead of women to keep the schools above expressed as long as their money will hold." There were no women's schools the next year, but they were resumed the year following and continued. In 1766 Leicester appropriated seventy pounds for schools and the selectmen were desired "to appropriate one third of this money in hiring schooling mistresses in each quarter."

It was added, "If any of the districts were dissatisfied with this arrangement, they had the privilege of taking their portion of the money." North Brookfield, in 1748, voted "that where there is fifteen or twenty children can conveniently come to one school in any part of the town, they shall be allowed a school dame at the charge of the town, they procuring the dame." Plymouth, in 1775, voted "that each end of the town which for some time past had a woman's school among them, be allowed to deduct out of the town's treasury what they are annually voted or taxed for the grammar school, and no more, towards the maintaining a school among themselves." Cohasset, when a parish of Hingham, voted that one third of the school money should "be paid to a school dame for teaching the children to read." Weston, in 1796, voted "that each of the school districts in town may draw out of the treasury the sum of twenty dollars for the purpose of providing a woman's school the ensuing summer." Manchester, in 1736, voted: "The one half of the said fifty pounds to be expended to support four school dames to keep a free school."

Harpswell, Maine, in 1760, voted "that each part of the Neck and also the Island should draw their proportionate part of the school money that was collected and should hire mistresses."

Similar votes are found among the New Hampshire towns. Sutton, in 1767, voted "that fifteen pounds be taken out of the ninety pounds that was voted to defray schooling and other town charges for this present year, to pay school dames for schooling in the summer season." Hopkinton, in 1768, voted "that one half of said money shall be laid out by hiring a school mistress or mistresses." And Marlboro, in 1797, voted "to take one fourth of the money for a woman's school the present year."

Harwinton, Connecticut, in 1742, five years after the settlement of the town, voted to have a school "some part

of the year," and appointed a committee to "provide a sufficient school master and mistress for the year ensuing." After providing for the master's school it was voted that "the rest of the money be left to the discretion of the committee to lay out upon school dames." In 1748 it was voted "and the other half is to be improved to hire school dames in this town for the year ensuing." Columbia, Connecticut, in 1739, voted "and the rest of the money to be improved in hiring school dames to teach children to read, the rest of the year, as shall best suit the parish in general."

Male teachers were obliged to be "approbated" before they could properly assume office. The custom does not appear to have been generally exercised for the public dame teacher, though a few records are found, as in Wenham in 1746: "Mrs. Elizabeth Kimball was approved of and approbated to keep school in our town to teach children and youth to read and write, she having behaved in sober conversation."

Greenfield, in 1767, had seven districts; there was "but one school master and he to move to each district according to the proportion, and to have a school dame the other six months and she to keep school in the several districts according to their proportion. All the masters and dames that are improved to be approved by the selectmen."

In New Hampshire there was a famous school dame by the name of Rachel Bill. One of the town fathers of the town of Gilsum gave her this certificate: "These may certify whom it may concern, that having examined Miss Rachel Bill concerning her qualifications for a school dame, cannot but judge her a person qualified for that business, and as such do hereby recommend her wherever a door shall be opened for her improvement. Clement Sumner."

By the New Hampshire law of 1808, all teachers, male or female, must have a certificate of good moral character from the minister or from one of the selectmen of the town in which they lived; they must also have a certificate of "sufficient

knowledge to keep school" from some "educated person." Female teachers were not required to teach arithmetic; they had the requisite qualifications if they were "able to teach the various sounds and powers of the letters of the English language, reading, writing, and English grammar."

Boston had no public school dames until it established the primary schools; but it rigidly required that all persons desiring to teach private schools should be approved by the selectmen. The records therefore contain many items like the following: 1737, "Henry Dearing, Esq. appearing, informs that Mrs. Rebecca North is come from Piscataqua with a desire to dwell in this town, and that she desires liberty to open a school for the instruction of children in reading and the use of the needle, offering to give his bond to indemnify the town for five years next coming as the law directs." The request was granted. Later in the same year, "Mrs. Elizabeth Hincke desiring liberty to keep a school in this town for the teaching and instructing children in sewing, in *philligree*, and writing, liberty was granted accordingly." These are the first two cases to appear on the records.

In 1781 "Mr. Elisha Byles applies for liberty for his wife to open a school for teaching children reading, &c., which was granted." In 1790 "the following certificate was this day given on the recommendation of a number of the respectable inhabitants of the south part of the town: This certifies that from recommendations of Misses Betsey and Amy Raymer, the selectmen are of opinion that they are persons of a sober life and conversation, and well qualified to keep school for teaching reading and sewing."

After 1700 there was a tendency to locate many of these women's schools for definite times in definite parts of the town between the periods of the masters' schools. The following votes show this tendency:

Framingham, in 1713, appointed the selectmen "to settle school dames in each quarter of the town." In 1755 it was

voted that "women's schools should be kept at the five school houses in the summer season"; and ten years later it was voted to employ "five school dames, eight weeks."

Weston, in 1768, voted "to keep four schools over and above the grammar schools for two months in the winter season and to begin about the middle of January next, and also voted to have five women's schools kept three months the next summer season and to begin about the middle of May next." Westminster, in 1766, voted "that a woman's school be kept seven months in the outskirts of the town." Brookline, in 1711, voted to build two schoolhouses and also voted "that they maintain a good school dame half of the year at each house." From 1727 to 1730 the votes ran like this: "Voted a dame for each school for eight months; Voted there be a mistress in each school house four months; Voted to keep school ten months this year, five months with two mistresses one in each school, and five months with a master ten weeks in each school." Dudley, in 1743, voted "to have a school dame three months at each end of the town and three months a schoolmaster in the center of the town."

Chester, New Hampshire, in 1740, voted "that there shall be a school maintained in the town this year throughout; partly by a schoolmaster and partly by school dames, as the selectmen shall judge best for the town."

This is found in the Norwich (Connecticut) record for 1746: "The said meeting by their majority vote do agree and order that there shall be two women's schools kept from the first of April next to the first of October ensuing." One was kept in the town house, and the other was kept in "the house built for that purpose."

Salem, in 1801, issued this notice: "The inhabitants are informed that three public schools for children of both sexes and not less than five years old are opened. The alphabet, spelling, and reading are taught in them."

For two generations the records in Chelsea show very little variation in the woman's school; and this is typical of all the larger places in Massachusetts. In 1749 it was "voted a woman's school be kept at Pulling Point, it being at the earnest desire of the inhabitants there, for the space of three months, and thereupon ordered that Capt. Oliver agree with Mrs. Ann Ellitt as soon as may be to keep said school, and as reasonably as he can, she being the person the people of the Point are most desirous of having." A month later he was ordered to make an agreement with a man, "and that he compound with Mrs. Ellitt in the easiest terms he can, and obtain from her a relinquishment of his contract with her, in as much as no place can be had on the Point convenient for her to board." Early in the next year the town "allowed Mrs. Ann Ellitt nine pounds, old tenor, for her time she lost by agreement to keep school at Pulling Point, of which employ she was disappointed as no place could be had for her to board at."

Women's schools were kept in different parts of the town from year to year, but not every year. Frequent votes are found like this one in 1770, "Voted not to have a woman's school this present year." With the establishment of a school committee the woman's school became a more definite institution. In 1807 it was voted "that there be a woman's school a certain part of the year, discretionally with the school committee." But the value of the school committee was shown the next year, when they made a stated report with recommendations which were accepted: "That in the future the school shall be kept by a woman from the first of May to the first of November, and by a man the remainder of the year. That no child be allowed to attend the school, while under the instruction of a man, under the age of six years. That no boy be allowed to attend the school, while under the instruction of a woman, over nine years of age." Schools were continued six months by a man and six months by a

woman for some years. In 1817 the woman's school was made seven months, and two years later it was made eight months. In 1822 it was taught five months by a man and six months by a woman, showing that the school was beginning to have a summer vacation.

The early dame schools were not kept in the schoolhouses but in private dwellings, in kitchen or attic as best suited, and some in more unsuitable places as records already quoted show. It is recorded in Henniker, New Hampshire, about 1767, that Mrs. Josiah Ward kept a dame school for a few weeks "in her kitchen while she was attending to her household duties." In Sutton the first school dame was Olive Whitcomb, and she kept school "in deacon Asa Nelson's barn" about the year 1788.

In Malden, in 1779, Mrs. Rebecca Parker, after her husband's death, "occupied a portion of the old house where she kept a school at the expense of the town." The general observation is made about the schools in Hadley, "Dames kept school in their own rooms, where girls were instructed to read and sew, and in some, small boys were taught to read." At North Brookfield the unfinished room in the house was most generally used for these schools in the summer. It is said of the Cohasset teachers: "The school dames were not expensive teachers. They were women of natural aptitude for teaching, who eked out their living by gathering the children of their neighborhood into a kitchen or an attic, or some other convenient room, and there teaching the little ones some simple ways of using words and numbers."

The instruction in these dame schools was very elementary: the rudiments of spelling, reading in the New England Primer and the Psalter, and learning the catechism comprised it all, except in a few cases; rarely was writing or arithmetic touched upon. Knitting and sewing were generally taught the girls. Frequent records are found which say that these

ames are hired "to instruct children to read." The time as not always fully employed on these simple studies. Mr. saac Parker, who was born in Malden in 1776, went to hool to Mrs. Rebecca Parker. In later life he remembered that the only book he had was the Psalter. After he had ad and spelled a little, he was usually put to *shelling beans* some other useful and improving occupation."

Some comments on these schools are found in reminisences and diaries of prominent men. Of the schools in orwich, Connecticut, it is said: "The schoolmarm of former mes, with her swarming hive of pupils, was an instructor of hich no sample remains at the present time. She was a felong incumbent, never going out of one round of perrmance; always teaching little boys and girls to sit up raight and treat their elders with respect; to conquer the pelling book, repeat the catechism, never throw stones, ever tell a lie; the boys to write copies, and the girls to ork samplers."

Of the dame school in Hingham it is said: "The children were seated on benches around three sides of the room, ne teacher occupying a position near the other side. The rder of exercises were reading, then sewing, with an allotted sk to complete before the close of the school, which was nded with an exercise in spelling."

Channing in some recollections of Newport speaks of the rchin "being pinned to the mistress' apron" during the ading lesson. "At the close of the school on Friday afternoons, we were sent to the vacant room below stairs where e recited the Commandments, repeated the Lord's prayer, nd received commendation or censure according to our good r bad conduct during the week."

A dame school in Newport, in 1798, is thus described: The room occupied by the matron teacher and her daughter, Miss Betsey as she was called, was a low, square chamber on ne second floor, having no furniture, no desks, no chairs,

excepting a few for teachers or visitors. The children, boys and girls, the former dressed the same as girls, were furnished by their parents with seats made of round blocks of wood of various heights."

Reverend John Barnard, speaking of a school he attended about 1687, wrote: "My parents kept me close at school to furnish my young mind with the knowledge of letters. By that time I had a little passed my sixth year. I had left my reading school, in the latter part of which my mistress made me a sort of usher, appointing me to teach some children that were older than myself as well as smaller ones; and in which time I had read my Bible through thrice."

Edward Everett says this of a school he attended over a century later: "When I was three years old, I began to attend a child's school in the immediate neighborhood of my father's house. I recollect distinctly holding to my sister's apron as a protection against the cattle in the road. I also remember the appearance of my primer, from one corner of which the blue paper covering had been torn. . . . My patient and faithful instructress taught me to read before I could speak plain; considerately mingling the teacher and the nurse, she kept a pillow and a bit of carpet in the corner of the schoolroom where the little heads, throbbing from a premature struggle with the tall double letters and ampersand, with Korah's troops and Vashti's pride, were permitted, nay, encouraged to go to sleep."

Another account, one given by Henry K. Oliver, describing a school he attended, will suffice to give a clear idea of these dame schools. He says, after speaking of his first school, to which he went at five years of age: "From this school I was removed to another, Madam Tileston's, where I was taught elementary reading and spelling after the same ancestral fashion; that is, I received about twenty minutes of instruction each half day, and as school was kept three hundred and sixty minutes daily, I had the privilege of forty

minutes' worth of teaching and three hundred and twenty minutes' worth of sitting still, if I could, which I could not, playing, whispering, and general waste of time, though occasionally a picture book relieved the dreary monotony.

"My nervous temperament, dislike of confinement at busy nothingness, want of affection for books (slates we had none), often entitled me to Madam Tileston's customary punishment of sundry smart taps on the head with the middle finger of her right hand, said finger being armed for its own defense with a large and rough steel thimble."

The dame school lasted well into the nineteenth century before it became fully merged into the public school, and even then it savored little of the primary school of to-day. Mrs. Livermore gives a very vivid picture of one school she attended in Boston about 1825: "The primary schools, which received children at the age of four years, were very shabby. As I remember them, they were kept, not taught, by elderly or middle-aged dames, who dozed in their chairs, took snuff, drank tea, and often something stronger from a bottle stowed away in a cupboard. At one of these schools kept by Ma'am Adams, I was daily sent to the grocery store for the teacher's 11 o'clock dram of New England or Santa Cruz rum, until my mother discovered the practice, when my father called upon the mistress and forbade her to send me on such errands.

"The school benches on which we sat were without backs and were sometimes so high that we beguiled the weary school hours by swinging our feet violently back and forth, by which process we worked off a good deal of animal vigor. We sometimes tipped off the bench backwards, and fell atop the children behind us, when we all set up a prodigious howling; not because we were hurt, but we enjoyed the noise hugely and prolonged the commotion as long as we could. When the drowsiness of the dame deepened into a snoring nap, we ran about the room and with the zest that accompanies the doing

of forbidden things, we swiftly overturned the benches, misplaced the articles on the table, threw the spelling cards out of the window, and not infrequently ran out into the street. When the uproar of the mischievous children awoke the dame from her slumbers, she started up and flourished through the school room with a long switch, the stinging blows from which descended like the rain from heaven, on the good and bad alike, and this was considered discipline."

Charlestown, in 1814, voted one thousand dollars in addition to the usual appropriation "for the education of young children." Twenty-one districts were formed, and in each a mistress was appointed "for the instruction of those from four to seven years of age, the whole number of whom is 425." The committee in making its report said: "The public support of schools, kept by women, for primary instruction, and free to every inhabitant under the direction of the trustees, though *novel*, is honorable to the town and affords a pleasing presage of future improvement."

These ancient dames performed an important service in the development of the present school system. They were not without honor in their own country. The epitaph given to Miriam Wood in 1706, when she was buried in Dorchester, applied to many of them:

A Woman well beloved of all her neighbors for her care of small Folks education, their number being great,

that when she dy'd she scarcely left her mate.
So Wise, Discreet was her behaviour
that she was well esteemed by neighbours.
She lived in love with all to dye,
So let her rest to Eternity.

VII

THE SUPPORT OF SCHOOLS

The support of schools had to be worked out by the colonists from their own experience. They had come from a land where there were no free public schools. Schools in England were endowed tuition schools. Following the light they had, the colonists established the early schools with the idea of supporting them, not by general taxation but by income from land grants, private donations, subscriptions, tuition from the children, and various other minor ways. Partial aid was granted by the towns to eke out the master's scanty living, and in time full taxation resulted, though only after many years. The first Boston school was established by subscription; the first Dorchester school, on the rent of Thompson's island. In the oft-quoted lecture-day notice of Salem, in 1644, is an instance of the private subscription: "Ordered, that a notice be published next lecture day that such as have children to keep at school would bring in their names and what they will give for one whole year, and also if any poor body hath children or a child to be put to school and not able to pay for their schooling, that the town will pay for it by rate." In Boston "at a general meeting of the richer inhabitants, there was given towards the maintenance of a free schoolmaster for the youth with us, Mr. Daniel Maud being now also chosen thereinto, The Gov. Mr. Henry Vane, Esq., £10, The Dep. Gov. Mr. John Winthrop, Esq., £10, &c." In all there were forty-five contributors. At Marshfield, in 1645, ten persons signed an agreement to pay from five to twenty shillings each to support a school, besides paying for the children they sent. For twenty years the second parish school in Bath, Maine, was maintained by private subscription.

The early laws recommending the establishment of schools had little to say about how they should be supported. In the Plymouth Colony the Cape Cod fisheries were regulated by law, and the income accruing from this was, in 1663, granted for the support of a school in the colony. The law read: "All such profits as may or shall accrue annually to the colony from fishing with nets or seines at Cape Cod for mackerel, bass or herring, to be improved for and towards a free school in some town in this jurisdiction for the training up of youth in literature for the good and benefit of posterity." Later, in 1677, towns of fifty families were enjoined to obtain a grammar master, and such townships "shall allow at least £12 in current merchantable pay, to be raised by a town rate on all the inhabitants of said town; and those who have the more immediate benefit thereof, with what others shall voluntarily give, shall make up the residue necessary to maintain the same"; and the money from the Cape fisheries was to be distributed among the towns maintaining such schools. The Massachusetts Bay law of 1647 ordered "that every township in this jurisdiction after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders shall forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint: provided those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns." The New Haven law of 1657 was based on the same fundamental principles, but was more specific. It stipulated concerning the schoolmaster's salary that "one third part shall be paid by the town in general as other rates, the good education of children being of public concernment, and the other two thirds by them who have the benefit thereof by the teaching of their children."

The Connecticut law of 1677 ordered that "where schools are to be kept in any town, whether it be county town or other, what shall be necessary to the meeting the charge of such school, it shall be raised upon the inhabitants by way of rate, except any town shall agree upon some other way to raise the maintenance of him they shall employ in the aforesaid work, any order to the contrary notwithstanding." In 1687 there was a surplus in the public treasury, and it was ordered distributed "to the several counties by equal proportion according as the list of their estates, October last, will give to each; by them to be improved for the encouragement of the grammar schools in each county town where they are; but in defect of such, to other schools."

In 1700 Connecticut made a direct colony tax as follows: "And towards the maintenance of the schools respectively, it is ordered that from the county rates as the county rates are paid by the treasurer, shall be paid yearly 40s. upon every £1000 of the public list of persons and estates unto the several towns of this Colony, and proportionally for lesser sums, for the use of their schools as aforesaid; and it is further ordered that the aforementioned sums for the use of the schools shall by the treasurer be added to the assessments of each town respectively in his order to the constables, and by the treasurer's order paid by the constables to the several schoolmasters, and where the abovesaid allowance shall not be sufficient for the maintenance of the school, there a sufficient maintenance shall be made up of such estates as hath been bequeathed by any for that use, and for want thereof, the one half to be paid by the town and the other by the children that go to school, unless any town agree otherwise." The law of 1717, placing the schools in the control of parishes, authorized the majority of the householders in any parish "to lay taxes for the support of the school, to appoint a collector and make regulations for the management of the same."

In 1753 the forty shillings on the one thousand pounds was changed to "the sum of 10s. lawful money" on the one thousand pounds. In 1766 it was made twenty shillings, and in 1767 the former tax of forty shillings was restored. The working out of a method of support was finally crystallized in the revised law of 1799: "That each school society in this state shall, by their vote in legal meeting, have full power to grant rates for the building and repairing of schoolhouses, and the supporting of schools therein, or to make any lawful agreements for the same purposes, and what such society shall agree upon and vote, respecting the encouragement and support of schools, shall bind itself and all its members."

The New Hampshire law of 1680 established certain grades of schools which were to be supported in part by tuition, and the amount to be raised for the support of the schools was left to the discretion of the towns. The law of 1694 gave the selectmen power to raise money by assessment for all school purposes. Tuition played a substantial part in the support of schools; the method of laying this tax on the children was varied. There were at least six ways: a rate for each study, a rate per week, a rate per quarter, a rate per year, a sort of poll tax according to the census of children, and an indeterminate rate according to an agreement between master and parents.

At Watertown, in 1651, "every person that learneth English only shall pay three pence a week and such as write or study Latin shall pay four pence." The schoolmaster was ordered to keep a strict account of the weeks each attended, and collect. If any were delinquent, the names were to be reported to the selectmen. If tuition dues were not equal to the agreed-upon salary, the town was to pay the balance. Children coming from out of town were to pay twenty-five shillings a year. In 1667 the town agreed to pay the thirty pounds out of the town treasury, except such as might come from the tuition of out-of-town children. The school was

made free to the town children. Northampton, in 1667, agreed with the schoolmaster that "for the year he is to have out of the town stock £10 which the town promises to pay; 4 pence per week for such as are in the primer and other English books; 6 pence per week to learn the 'accidence,' writing, casting accounts. In case there be a neglect that they do not come constant, three days shall be accounted as a week."

Springfield, in 1677, granted admittance and entertainment to William Madison, schoolmaster, "he taking 3d. of those per week whom he teaches to read English, and 4d. per week of those he teaches both to read and to write, also 4d. of those whom he teaches writing wholly; the parents or persons being not to allow more; but the town for this year as an encouragement to him in the work do agree to allow him the rent of the land in Chicopee." In 1687 Northampton paid the master forty pounds under this agreement: "The town agreed to pay in general by way of rate the above named sum of £40, that is so much of it as the scholars, readers at 3d. per week and writers at 4d. per week, did lack of amounting to the above said sum, the schoolmaster being to keep an exact account of what scholars come to him, and how long they were with him, and the amount thereof to deliver to the selectmen." Newbury, in 1652, voted twenty pounds "for to maintain a schoolmaster out of the town rate." In 1653 an equal rate was levied on each estate to maintain a school, but seventeen men dissented, as they lived too far away to send their children to the school. In 1681 it was voted, "Whereas the scholars are so few, that such as come to learn English shall pay 3 pence a week for schooling." In Bristol, in 1699, reading cost threepence per week, writing threepence, and Latin fourpence. Plymouth, in 1699, ordered that "every scholar that comes to write or cypher or to learn Latin shall pay 3 pence per week, for to read only to pay 3 half pence per week." The remainder necessary for the school was "to

be levied by rate on the whole inhabitants in their just and equal proportion." At Concord, in 1701, grammar scholars paid fourpence and reading scholars twopence per week toward the support of the school.

Newton, in 1701, voted, "Those that send children to school shall pay 3d. per week for those who learn to read and 4d. for those who learn to write and cypher, and all may send to either school." Lynn, in 1702, raised ten pounds for a master, "and such master to have over and above the said £10, 2d. per week for such as are sent to read, 3d. per week for them that are sent to write and cypher, and 6d. per week for them that are sent to learn Latin, to be paid by parents and masters that send their children or servants to learn as aforesaid." Sandwich tuition rates, in 1713, were, "Those who send to pay to the town for pupils in reading alone 3 shillings per week, writing additional 5 shillings, reading, writing and arithmetic 6 shillings, and Latin and Greek 8 shillings." Children from other towns could attend at these rates. Lexington, in 1714, "voted that all scholars that come to school, to pay 2d. per week for reading and 3d. per week for writing and cyphering; and what that amounts to at the year's end, so much of the £15 to be deducted and stopped to the treasury the next year."

In 1749 the Beverly master was required to return to the selectmen a list "of the names of parents and masters, and the number of children and servants belonging to each that were instructed by him." The selectmen levied a tax upon these parents and masters, and gave the list into the hands of the constables for collection. The selectmen could exempt "such as they judged proper."

As late as 1761 Deerfield charged two and one-half pence per week for reading scholars, and one and one-half pence per week for writing scholars. These records cover over three generations and show that "Electives" are not really modern. While in general the rate for reading was threepence per

week, it varied from one and one-half pence to threepence; writing, usually fourpence, ranged from one and one-half pence to sixpence; Latin, usually from fourpence to sixpence, in one town fell as low as threepence. Cyphering held pretty steadily at threepence, though it is not often mentioned, and then almost always in connection with writing. There was no uniformity in the rates; seemingly they were determined by the wealth of the town or by the votes of those who had no children to send. Other towns adopted the system of a weekly tuition charge. This, too, varied, though the general rate was threepence per week. Meriden, Connecticut, in 1678, voted "to allow for the encouragement of such a schoolmaster as the selectmen shall approve of, £10 a year in general and 3 pence a week for all scholars, males or females, from 6 to 16, as long as they shall go to school." For many years the town raised from four to six pounds out of the town treasury and required the children to pay tuition. In 1691 the town voted "that all the money for schools should be raised by those who sent children to school." In 1698 it was voted that each pupil should pay *a penny* a week.

Norwich allowed the schoolmaster twenty-five pounds "to be paid partly by the children," those "entered for the full time to pay 9 shillings and other children that come occasionally to allow 3 pence per week; the rest to be paid by the town." In 1680 the schools were committed to the selectmen with four injunctions, two of which are "that parents pay their proportion according to what is judged just," and "that whatever is additionally necessary for the perfecting the maintenance of a schoolmaster is a charge and expense belonging to all the inhabitants of the town and to be gathered as any other rates." Bristol, in 1692, voted "that each person that hath children in town ready to go to school shall pay 3 pence the week for each child's schooling to a schoolmaster, and the town by rate according to each ratable estate shall make the wages amount to £24 the year." Woburn, in 1700,

voted "that every person that should send any child or servants to the above said school in Woburn, shall pay in to the selectmen of said town 3d. per week for every child or servant that is sent or comes to said school; and the selectmen are to improve all such sums so paid in to them towards the discharging the schoolmaster's salary; but if any shall send their children to said school that in the judgment of the selectmen are not able to pay as above said, they have their liberty to send their children to said school at the public charge of the town."

Manchester, in 1717, voted that "every child sent to the schoolmaster shall pay 5d. per week." The master's salary was twenty pounds, ten of which was taxed on the town.

The quarterly rate appears to have been made for a larger income and to minimize the schoolmaster's bookkeeping. This arrangement was adopted in Hartford as early as 1643, when at a general town meeting it was ordered: "That Mr. Andrews shall teach the children in the school one year next ensuing from the 25th of March, 1643, and that he shall have for his pains £16, and therefore the townsmen shall go and enquire who will engage themselves to send their children; and all that do so shall pay for one quarter at the least, and for more if they do send them, after the proportion of 20s. the year, and if they go any weeks more than an even quarter, they shall pay 6 pence a week; and if any would send their children and are not able to pay for their teaching, they shall give notice of it to the townsmen and they shall pay it at the town's charge; and Mr. Andrews shall keep the account between the children's schooling and himself and send notice of the times of payment and demand it; and if his wages do not come in, the townsmen must collect and pay it; or if the engagements come not to £16, then they shall pay what is wanting at the town's charges."

Guilford early voted "that whoever shall put any children to school to Mr. Higginson, shall not put for less than a

quarter's time at once. And so all shall be reckoned with quarterly, though they have neglected to send them all the time, after the rate of 4s. per quarter, by the treasurer." At New Haven, in 1650, "it was propounded that a schoolmaster might be provided for the town. The Court approved the motion and chose the Magistrates, Elders, Deacons, and Deputies for the particular court, to consider when to have one and what salary to allow, and whether the town should not bear a part, and the parents of the children taught a part, and whether the parents should not be compelled to put their children to learning, at least to learn English and to write." In 1651 "for the encouragement of Mr. James in teaching school, the Court ordered that he should have £10 for the year, to be paid out of the town treasury; the year to begin when he begins teaching. The rest he is to take of the parents of the children that he teacheth, by the quarter, to make him up a full recompense for his pains." The next year "the town generally was willing to encourage Mr. James his coming, and would allow him at least £10 a year out of the treasury, and the rest he might take of the parents of the children he teacheth, by the quarter as he did before, to make it up a comfortable maintenance."

Windsor, Connecticut, was divided in sentiment in 1674; some wanted the town to pay the school expense, others wanted the scholars to pay five shillings per quarter. It was finally voted that the children should pay. At Meriden, Connecticut, in 1702, "each scholar was to pay two shillings per quarter in addition to the town grant." The minimum time for which tuition was to be charged was still further lengthened in 1713, when "the town voted that the money concerning the school respecting children, shall be raised upon all the children that live within a mile and a half of the schoolhouse, from 6 years old to 10, whether they go to school or not, and all the children that go to school and enter the school a week, shall pay for half a year."

Quarterly payments seldom appear except in the Connecticut records, though Braintree, in 1700, voted that for the year ensuing "every scholar shall pay for his entry into the school one shilling, and so successively for every quarter, and this shall be a part of the school salary to be paid unto the schoolmaster, and he to give an account of all that comes to the selectmen." Attendance at school was optional; because of conditions it must have been very irregular. The longer the period for which the tuition was fixed, the more certain the master was of his salary, and the less the town would be compelled to pay from its treasury.

Dedham, in 1652, voted "that all such inhabitants in our town as have male children or servants betwixt the ages of four and fourteen years shall pay for each such to the schoolmaster" five shillings yearly. If these did not make twenty pounds, the rest was to be raised "by way of rating upon estates according to the usual manner." Payment was to be made in two equal payments each half year and was to continue for seven years. The school tax was often a separate tax like the minister's. In 1668 the school tax was five shillings per scholar and on estates one penny per pound. Medfield, in 1655, voted fifteen pounds "to be raised by rate according as men have taken up lands, and the rest of the maintenance to be raised upon the children that go to school." In 1684 "in the winter all pupils between seven and fourteen were to pay 3 shillings each to raise the schoolmaster's pay, those under seven, 1 shilling 6 pence." The summer price was one shilling. At Hadley, in 1676, there being great failure in sending children to school, the selectmen were ordered "to take a list of all children from 6 to 12 years old." All of these were expected to attend the school, and if any did not go, they were "to pay the same as those that went, except some poor men's children." In 1678 male children from six to twelve were "to pay 10s. a year if they went and 5s. if they did not go." In 1681 "Latin

scholars were to pay 20s. a year and English scholars 16s.; those from 6 to 12 that did not go were to pay 8s. a year."

Weymouth, in 1697, voted "Parents shall pay 3s. for each child sent to school between the ages of 8 and 14 years, . . . the remainder to be made up by a tax upon all who live within two miles of the schoolhouse." In 1700 Scituate "desired James Torry to teach children and youth to read and write as the law requireth, and said Torry consented to make trial thereof awhile on these considerations, that he be paid 20s. in money for each and every person sent to school, the parent or master engaging to pay 15s. of the said twenty, the town having agreed to pay the other 5s. for each, and that those that send any children or youth to the school shall provide books, pen, ink and paper suitable for their learning as aforesaid." At Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1658, the schoolmaster's salary was twenty-five pounds, "and the £25 is to be raised of the children, 8 shillings per head of such as come to school, and the remainder by rate of all the inhabitants made by the lists of estates." Norwich early voted a schoolmaster at a salary of "£25 in provision pay for his service; each scholar to pay 9s. for the 9 months and the remainder to be paid by the town rate." In 1714 forty shillings on one thousand pounds was voted "for the maintaining of the school, provided the scholars of the town plat pay to the schoolmaster what fails in the sum agreed for, and the farmers have liberty to send their children free of cost." At Portsmouth, in 1699, the schoolmaster "proposed keeping school in the town on the terms as formerly, viz., 24s. for a Latin scholar, 20s. for a writer and cypherer, and 16s. for a reader, qualified as formerly." The next year he was to have a different sum and "every Latin scholar to pay to the master 20s. per annum overplus for his encouragement."

For some years a note was annually fastened to the schoolhouse door in Portland, reading as follows: "Notice is hereby

given to such persons as are disposed to send their children to school in this place the ensuing year, that the year commences this day, and the price will be as usual, viz., 18 shillings and 8 pence per year for each scholar that comes by the year and 8 shillings per quarter for such as come by the quarter." This one was posted in 1753 and was signed by Stephen Longfellow. At Providence, in 1767, nonresident freeholders could send children by paying twelve shillings to the school tax annually, and inhabitants who paid twelve shillings "if they have no children nor apprentices of their own, shall have liberty to send the children of any friend or relative of theirs living out of this town."

In the struggle to equalize the school burden, some towns endeavored to tax all children within certain ages, leaving it to the parent to see if the children received the education the tax paid for. In 1656 Rowley taxed all male children between the ages of four and eight years of age toward paying the master. In 1668 Braintree "did consent to lay the school land, that is to say the annual income of it, for a salary for a schoolmaster and to make it up £20 besides what every child must give." Brookline, in 1687, raised £12 "equally by rate," and the rest necessary for the support of the school was "laid equally upon the children's heads." At Dedham, in 1693, "It being proposed how they would raise a salary for the maintenance of a school, whether they will raise the one half upon the estates and the other half upon the heads of male children that live within three miles or thereabouts, and this was voted in the affirmative. These male children are to be rated from 7 until they be 12 years old." The next year a similar vote was passed, only it was given as "such male children as live within three miles of the *meetinghouse*." At Weymouth, in 1697, children from eight to fourteen paid three shillings; the rest was raised "by a tax upon all who lived within two miles of the schoolhouse."

Deerfield, in 1698, "agreed and voted that a school be continued in the town; that all heads of families that have children, whether male or female, between the ages of six and ten years, shall pay by the poll to said school, whether they send such children to school or not." Two weeks later "it was then agreed that what children soever shall be sent to said school above the age of ten years or under the age of six years shall pay according to the time they shall improve said school." Norwalk, in 1701, agreed "that for the paying of the charge of a schoolmaster shall be as followeth; that all children from the age of 5 years old to the age of 12 years, shall all pay an equal proportion, excepting females; all that do not go to school and all youths above the age of 12 years as go in the day, shall pay equal with the others above said; and all night scholars shall pay a third part so much as the day scholars."

Colchester, Connecticut, in 1719, voted "that all the children from 5 years old to the age of 10 years, that live within one mile and a half from the place where the school is kept, shall pay to the said school as the law directs, whether they go to said school or not; and those that are above 10 years of age shall pay only for the time as they do go." Glastonbury, Connecticut, in 1701, voted, "A sufficient school master to be procured, to be paid the 40s. on the £1000 county rate, and the remainder, one half by rate on the town, and the other half by those who have children of suitable age to attend, whether they go to school or not." In 1712, "boys between 6 and 12 to pay whether they go or not." In 1717, "all boys between 6 and 11, except those living beyond a certain distance, to pay whether they go to school or not." In 1735, "the colony money being deducted, the remainder to be paid half by the society and half by the children." In 1749, "the boys' heads to pay £40." This rate on children's heads was often called "head money." In 1760 school expenses were paid, "half by society, half by children's

heads." At New Milford, Connecticut, in 1721, "it was agreed by vote there should be a school maintained for four months this winter following, the town to bear half the charge of said school." In 1724 it was "voted that children from the age of 7 to 12 shall pay to the school hire in New Milford. . . . Children that are above 12 years of age or under 7 shall pay to the school according to the time they go."

Groton, in 1778, voted "that the children be numerated through the town. Males unmarried from four years old to twenty-one, females unmarried from four years old to eighteen, and the whole of the money raised this year for the schools be equally divided upon the polls." In many cases the part the scholar should pay was left in a very indeterminate way, or it was a matter of private agreement between the master and the parents. Tuition receipts formed a considerable part of the schoolmaster's salary. It was a valuable asset, not relinquished without protest, as is indicated by the action of Ezekiel Cheever at Charlestown in 1666. Among the motions presented to the meeting was one "putting them in mind of their promise at his first coming to town, viz., that no other schoolmaster should be suffered or set up in the town so as he could teach the same, yet now Mr. Mansfield is suffered to teach and take away his scholars." This evidently affected his income from tuition. Hartford, in 1650, agreed to give Mr. Samuel Fitch fifteen pounds by the year for every one of the three years that he should teach "such children as shall be thought fit to be sent to him, besides that which the parents of the children pay." This system appealed so strongly to the other towns of the Connecticut Colony that it was quite generally adopted. In New Haven, in 1663, in dealing with Mr. Pardee to become their schoolmaster, "as it was scarce known in any place to have a free school for teaching of English and writing, it was proposed to allow £20 out of the town treasury, and the rest to be paid by those who sent scholars to the school, as he and they could agree."

Haverhill, in 1670, granted ten pounds, and "what children do come to him to be taught, the selectmen being to provide a convenient place to keep the school in, shall pay to the schoolmaster according as he and the parents or masters of such as come to be taught can agree for, provided he do not ask for a child or person more than is usually given in other towns by the year." At Stratford, Connecticut, it was agreed to pay the schoolmaster thirty-six pounds, "the town to bear one half, and the parents of the children the other half." At Amesbury, in 1712, the town clerk was engaged to teach a school to "teach to write and cypher such as shall come to him, they paying as he and they shall agree." Deerfield, in 1720, "granted the sum of £20 in money for the year ensuing towards the encouragement of a school in Deerfield, the scholars making up with said sum that a schoolmaster may be hired for." Harwinton, Connecticut, after trying other methods, finally reached this indeterminate form as indicated by the following votes: In 1742, five years after the town was founded, it was voted "that there be 3 pence upon the pound levied upon the Grand List in order to maintain a school in the town." Five years later it was voted "that there shall be £20 in money of the old tenor levied on polls and ratable estates in this town in order to maintaining of a school amongst us in this town in the year ensuing." The next year it was voted "that there shall be £80 in money of the old tenor levied on the polls and ratable estates in this town, in order to carry on schooling in this town"; but in 1750, after fixing the master's salary at sixty pounds, it was added, "The one half to be raised by the town, and the other half to be by the persons or masters of the children that they send to said school."

Hadley had a similar experience. In 1670 the salary was made thirty pounds, "a part from the school estate and the rest from the scholars and town." Children not attending school were taxed. Two years later male children from six to

twelve were to pay ten shillings a year if they went and five shillings if they did not go. In 1681 "Latin scholars were to pay 20 shillings a year and English scholars, 16 shillings. Those from six to twelve that did not go were to pay 8 shillings a year." In 1697 it was decided that the teacher "should be paid wholly by the school committee and the town rate." Men without children objected and in two years it was voted "that one half what the school estate did not pay should be paid by the scholars." Greenwich, in 1695, voted "that no person should be obliged to help support the school who sent no children." The committee was responsible for the payment of the schoolmaster's wages. After nearly fifty years of a single Latin school, in 1683, Boston referred to a committee the question of the establishment of additional schools. That committee made two recommendations:

"1st. That two schools shall be provided and agreed for.

"2nd. That the town shall allow £25 per annum for each school for the present, and that such persons as send their children to school (that are able) should pay something to the master for his better encouragement in his work."

Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1670, voted "that the schoolmaster rate for this year shall be raised by estates of the inhabitants as other town rates are"; but three years later only ten pounds "of the teacher's wages could be paid out of money raised by taxation in the usual way and the rest was to be assessed on children attending the school." The following vote in 1672 seems to indicate that the salary of the schoolmaster of Stamford, Connecticut, was paid by the children whether they went to the public school or not: "By vote, the town enjoin all the children that went to any school this last year, except only such that went only to learn to knit or sew, shall pay their proper fares to the schoolmaster." In 1708, besides the forty shillings on the one thousand pounds, additional money "shall be paid by the scholars that go to school." Amesbury did not make a rate to pay the

schoolmaster until 1706. Previous to that time the schools had been maintained by a tax on the children.

Parents did not find it easy to pay these tuition rates, or they were unwilling to. Occasional records are found like these: In Guilford, in 1654, "that troublesome man, Benj. Wright, was ordered to pay for the schooling of his four children, which he had neglected. We learn that the pay of the teacher, being all to be levied upon the scholars, came to 13 shillings a head, as all the rest had paid; although scarce any of the scholars did or could attend regularly." In 1702 Plymouth voted "that Mr. Joseph Bartlett shall hereby have power to gather in the arrears of what monies is yet unpaid relating to the school in Mr. Hale's term"; and in 1706 a committee of two was "desired and invested with full power by the town to call those persons to an account that do either neglect or refuse to pay what they are obliged to by town act, relating to the school in said town."

The "benefit" of strangers was sometimes allowed the schoolmaster as an extra compensation; sometimes it was paid into the town treasury and went toward reducing the school tax. Dover, in 1658, agreed "that £20 per annum shall be yearly raised for the maintenance of a schoolmaster in the town of Dover; that is to say for the teaching of all the children within the township of Dover; the said schoolmaster having the privilege of all strangers out of the township aforesaid." Watertown, in 1653, "ordered that all scholars that their parents live out of town shall pay for their schooling 25s. for the year." Brookline, in 1747, allowed two men to send their children from out of town by "paying their proportion for their polls according as the selectmen apportion upon other children."

The records of Springfield for a single year show how serious a matter the arrangement of rate and tuition was. In 1707 it was recorded: "Inasmuch as the law of the Province obliges this town to keep and maintain a grammar

school, writing school, and reading school, and that the schoolmaster be suitably encouraged and paid by the inhabitants of said town; now for the better support of said school and encouragement of learning, it is agreed and voted that the parents and masters of every scholar going to said school shall pay three pence per week in town pay, and for the enabling the town to recover such dues for each scholar, it is agreed that the schoolmaster that shall be hired from time to time shall keep an exact account of the time of every scholar coming to said school, and leaving said school, and upon demand of the selectmen such schoolmaster shall deliver to said selectmen, under his hand, an account of the scholars as aforesaid, which account shall be obliging us to the time of the said scholar's attendance, and the selectmen or assessors from time to time are hereby ordered and empowered to assess the said sum or sums upon the parents and masters of said scholars, and to affix or add the said sums to their town rates that shall be granted from time to time by the town for assessing and raising such further sum and sums for completing the schoolmaster's full dues that shall be due to him, and it is further ordered and agreed that the selectmen consider who are such children or scholars as to be privileged, and that said selectmen do exempt their parents and masters from paying for such children going to school, in whole or in part." In spite of this the town was notified that the "assessors had raised the school rate on the polls and estates only, without laying anything of payment on the scholars that come to school." A town meeting was called two weeks later to see by "what method to raise the schoolmaster's salary; and the dues for keeping of the school at Longmeadow." "It was put to vote whether the schoolmaster's dues should be raised on the town's polls and estates without laying anything on the scholars, and the vote was for the negative; it being declared that, the scholars paying three pence per week, the dues by reason of that way would be £16 16 shillings

and 6 pence, and then it was put to vote that whether the said £16–16–6 should be laid on the scholars and the vote for the affirmative passed. Then it was declared that the charge for schooling, besides the proportion for scholars and the rents of the school lands, would be £10–18–6, and then it was put to vote whether to raise said sum on the town, that is the town's polls and estates, and the vote was for the affirmative."

And it was also voted "that the selectmen receive the schoolmaster's account of the scholars coming to the school, and that they demand of their parents and masters the payment due upon the account of said scholars coming to school." Two months after this it was voted: "Whereas there hath been difficulty and contradiction about paying the town's present schoolmaster his dues for the year past, whether to raise it on polls and estates only or on the scholars also, according to former custom and practice, it was agreed and voted that the selectmen lay the whole matter before the General Quarter Sessions this instant month of May, and the town to rest in the determination of the Justices of the Peace that come from the other towns of the county, excluding the Justices of the Peace dwelling in Springfield, and the said Justices of the Peace at said sessions did determine the said schoolmaster's dues be paid as the other town charges are paid."

In December "it was voted to allow the schoolmaster pay for three quarters of a year, and what the town's lands fall short of satisfying together with the scholars' pay, that the same be assessed on the inhabitants." Finally, in 1710, there is indication that the custom of taxing the pupils was abandoned for a general tax, as is shown in the following record: "It was voted that the assessors do raise upon the inhabitants in the town's tax for to pay our present schoolmaster, the sum of £40."

Votes of other towns point in the same direction, but the evidence is not conclusive that direct taxation for school

support was an established custom even in these towns. New London, in 1698, "voted that the town grant one half penny in money upon the lists of estates, to be raised for the use of the free school." At Concord, New Hampshire, in 1731, the proprietors voted "that £10 be levied on the grantees for to be laid out for the instructing of the children in reading." Woodstock, Vermont, in 1786, voted "to raise a tax of two pence on the pound, on the list of the ensuing year, to be paid in wheat at 5 shillings per bushel, rye at 4s. per bushel, and corn at 3s. per bushel, for the use of the schooling." The Reverend Mr. Woodbridge, speaking of Hartford in 1770, said that common schools were open to every child and the expense of instruction was paid "by the public, partly by the school fund which was then small, and partly by town taxes."

Boston soon grew out of the idea of tuition rates upon the children, land rentals, and subscriptions, and supported her schools by taxation. In a report of a committee on the expenses of the town and the ways of reducing the same, we find this paragraph: "That the charge of supporting the several public schools amounted the last year to more than one third part of the whole sum drawn for by the selectmen; but although this charge is very considerable and the number of schools is greater than the law requires, yet as the education of children is of the greatest importance to the community, the committee cannot be of opinion that any saving can be made to advantage on that head, except the town should think it expedient to come into methods to oblige such of the inhabitants who send their children to the public schools and are able to pay for their education themselves, to loose the town of that charge by assessing some reasonable sum upon themselves for that purpose." But the voters refused to accept the latter suggestion and continued to assess themselves for school purposes to the extent of one third of the public taxes. This was over one hundred years after the founding of the

first school. A little later several inhabitants presented a petition, "praying the town would consider the great expense occasioned by the public schools and determine whether one grammar school and two writing schools are not sufficient for the education of the children of the town." This was read and immediately voted down.

Reserving land grants and endowments for later consideration, a few simple cases may be mentioned here, to show the tendency to support schools without adding to taxes already burdensome in other ways. In 1655 the rent of Long and Spectacle islands was given to the Boston schools. A few years later two acres of land were let, "paying a bushel of barley malt yearly to the school use." In 1700 Salem received this income: "Ryall side, £22–5–6, Baker's island, £3, Misery island, £3, Beverly ferry, £6, Marblehead ferry, 18 shillings, interest on legacies, £6." At a proprietors' meeting in Cambridge, in 1693, it was recorded: "There being then a motion made that there might be a sale of some remnants of common land for the payment of some debts due unto Mr. John Hasting and Mr. John Hancock for their keeping the school in the town, the proprietors did approve of said motion and voted the sale should be made accordingly." New Haven, in 1729, referring to the schoolmaster, voted, "And for his reward he is to have the money raised on the scholars' heads, and the rents of the money and the land and meadow of this present year." In 1645 the people of Roxbury "therefore unanimously have consented and agreed to erect a free school in the said town of Roxbury and to allow £20 per annum to the schoolmaster, to be raised out of the messuages and part of the lands of the several donors [inhabitants of the town] in several proportions, as hereafter followeth under their hands."

In 1674 Hartford voted "that for the encouragement of Mr. Watson to teach a school in Hartford, and for the encouragement of the inhabitants of this town to send their

children to school, the town do engage so long as they shall continue the said Mr. Watson in that work, that the children of this town shall go free of charge to the school, and the town will yearly lend their help towards Mr. Watson's maintenance, to make it up £60, always provided their part shall not be above £30 a year, to be levied upon the inhabitants as other rents are by proportion." The rest probably came from land rentals and county rates.

At Dedham, in 1680, "Dr. William Avery made donation to the town of £60 for the support of a Latin school." In 1695 "300 acres of land were granted by the Proprietors for the support of schools in the town, to be managed by trustees and called the School Farm." This land was ordered sold in 1699, the "money received for it to be improved for the benefit of a school in Dedham." In 1722 the trustees of the school money "are instructed to let it out at six per cent. interest." In 1812 the Honorable Samuel Dexter made a donation and suggested "that certain sums formerly appropriated for the same purpose, both principal and interest of which were expended during the Revolution in hiring soldiers, shall be replaced by the town." Lovell's Island was granted to Charlestown. This was rented and the income was regularly applied for the support of the schools. In 1647 it was "agreed that a rate of £15 should be gathered of the town towards the school for this year, and the £5 that Major Sedgwick is to pay this year [for the island] for the school, also the town's part of Mystic weir." In 1650 "at a meeting of the general townsmen, it was agreed that the town would allow unto a schoolmaster, to be treated with by the officers, by a rate made to that end, to make up the rent of Lovell's island, £20 a year besides the scholars' pay." In 1651 the schoolmaster, Mr. Stowe, was to have "what is due the town for the fish weir, and the £5 what the Major pays for Pettrick's island, also he is to require and take of such persons as send their children now and then and not

constantly, by the week as he and they can agree." In 1779 the town voted "that the committee on schools have liberty to let the training field and apply the rent to the use of the school within the Neck." Guilford, Connecticut, in 1648, laid "a rate of 2 pence per acre and 2 pence per caput" for various town expenses, among them the school.

Some curious forms of income were credited to the school account, though perhaps not more curious than the almost universal New England dog tax may appear some generations hence. At Bristol, "in 1718 and for many years afterwards, a license fee varying from 21 shillings to £4 was charged upon all houses of entertainment and the money obtained was devoted to the support of the schools." In 1818 a vote was passed "that all money which should come to the town from the property of strangers dying within its limits should be devoted to the support of the free schools." And it was also voted "that the Town Council be instructed to exact a reasonable sum from all persons who may dance the slack rope or wire or perform any feats of activity, or exhibit any animal or wax figures or other show in this town, who exact pay from their spectators, and to collect double the sum exacted in case any person shall presume to exhibit without their permission, and that the money arising under this act be appropriated to the support of free schools." In Douglass the school lands brought sufficient income to pay all expenses except three pounds annually. Notes in payment for pews in the meetinghouse also were applied to school expenses. "The money raised from the sale of pews in the meetinghouse had been placed in a bank with the intention of using it to keep the building in repair, but when it was proposed to use a portion of it to pay the expense of new shingles and clapboards the town refused to consent and appropriated the whole amount, something over £85, for the support of schools." When Reading sold the old meetinghouse in 1692, the money was ordered "paid over to Mr. Brown in part compensation

for the school." Boston, in 1711, voted "that the town's wharf, dock and flats at the North Battery be appropriated towards the support of the free grammar school at the north end of Boston." In 1655 it was ordered "that Edward Greenleaf shall have liberty to set a house of 18 feet deep and 12 feet to the front from the end of Mr. Batt's tan-house, paying 2 shillings 6 pence per annum to the school use as long as he improves it for a dyeing house." Weymouth, in 1816, appropriated for school use the "alewive money;" that is, fees received for permits to catch herring. At Plymouth, in 1705, swine found at large after October were forfeited, "the one half towards the maintenance of the school kept in said town." "In 1802 the proceeds of the sale of herrings in the town brook were applied to the same object, and continued to be so applied until the fishing right was abandoned to the proprietors of the iron works in 1821." Newport had a lottery from which a wharf and hotel were to be built, the proceeds of which were to support a public school. The result is not known. At Springfield, in 1708, it was voted "that such persons as shall be chosen by the town to execute the law respecting swine and shall be convicted of the neglect thereof, shall be subject to the penalty of five shillings, upon conviction, the one half thereof to the informer, the other half to the town's school." This was approved by the court.

In the gathering of turpentine a tax was placed on new trees, "That there be paid to the town treasurer for the use of the school, one shilling in town pay for one hundred trees"; and for old trees, "that those who work any of their old trees shall pay to the town treasury, for the use of the school, six shillings in town pay for one thousand of said trees." Connecticut, in 1680, placed a duty "on imported wines to be used as a school fund." In 1766 all money collected or due "for excise on liquors, tea &c. shall be paid to the several committees in each town where they are recovered . . . and shall by said committee be let out and the interest thereof

mproved for the support of the respective schools aforesaid orever, and for no other use." All moneys that had been aid in by any town, with interest at five per cent, were ordered aid back to the towns for the use of the schools. At a sheep neeting held in Ridgefield, in 1742, it was voted by a majority 'that the money coming for the hire of the sheep the last ear shall be given as a bounty to help maintain the town chool forever, and when the money is gathered it shall be elivered to the committee that is appointed to take care of he bounty money given by the government to support the chools, and ordered by the above said vote to let out the said noney as the money is that comes from the government, and o improve the use thereof to pay it towards the maintenance f said town school forever."

The meaning of this vote is found in this Norwich statenent. The town owned some two thousand sheep, "and egularly twice in the week they were let to the highest bidder o lay in his plow land during the night season." It is recorded that the schools of this town were maintained "(1) in art by the produce of lands in Litchfield County granted y the State and appropriated to the schools; (2) by the roduce of an excise duty laid on rum and tea, but the act roving unpopular was never carried into general execution, he money paid in by this town was returned and appropriated or the benefit of schools; (3) by the 40s. on the thousands s it is called; (4) by the produce of the sales of the westrn lands; and (5) lastly, in case of deficiency, by a tax on he scholars."

At Plymouth, in 1705, certain inhabitants bound themselves for several years to pay twenty pounds for the support f the schools. The conditions were that the schoolmaster hould be settled within forty rods of the old meetinghouse, nd that the town should pay twenty pounds. The town made hese stipulations: the subscribers' children should go free; ll others within one mile of the school should pay fourpence

per week for Latin, writing, or cyphering, and twopence per week for reading; those over one mile and under two miles should pay one half these rates; all over two miles should go free. All fines and this tuition money were to go toward the town's twenty pounds. In 1711 and for many years after, the interest of the "mile and a half" money was appropriated for the schools. This was a tract of land one and one half miles square, made common land in 1702, and sold in lots; people who bought it gave bonds for payment.

There was given at Dedham, in 1679, a list of thirty persons "as are to pay to the school for their children unto Mr. Samuel Mann the last time he kept and also for Thomas Batteley that is now in that service of keeping the school." The amounts varied from two shillings to twelve shillings ninepence. An old Taunton account book (1683–1687) shows that the schoolmaster was paid by the people; there were one hundred fifty-six of them, and the total amount to be paid was twenty-one pounds seven shillings seven pence. "This rate made the 22d day of December, 1685, by us whose names are underwritten, for the payment of the schoolmaster, and is to be paid according to town order."

At best the support of the schools was meager. Even though Boston was spending one third of all town expenses for the schools, and even though at one time out of two hundred pounds Springfield spent one hundred forty-seven pounds on schools, there was only a small income available for education. Appropriations in any form for school support were not made readily, and under special stringency were not made at all. Easton, settled in 1725, voted in 1736 "that the town should be provided with a schoolmaster," but made no appropriation; in 1740 they again voted to have a schoolmaster, and appropriated forty pounds "to support and uphold a school." Apparently this was for two years, for no other vote was taken until 1742, when it was voted "not to raise any money to support the school."

Leicester had a school in 1732 for three months and raised for its support ten pounds ten shillings, about eight dollars and seventy-five cents lawful money. Salisbury, in 1772, raised twelve dollars for school purposes. Francestown raised its first school money in 1781; voted "to raise twenty-five Spanish milled dollars to support said school." Newport, New Hampshire, in 1774, voted "that there shall be £4 lawful money paid out of the town treasury towards the support of a school the ensuing summer, to be paid in grain at the market price." The next year it was voted "to pay £5 lawful money worth of grain to support a school; one half is to support a school in the summer, and the other half in the winter; wheat at 5s. per bushel, and rye at 3s. 9d. per bushel." In 1773 Cohasset appropriated thirty-five pounds for schools and eighty-eight pounds for the minister. In 1796 it contributed less than fifty cents per pupil.

Such items show that financial conditions were not prosperous, though in many cases besides these appropriations there was an income from land grants and other donations.

VIII

LAND GRANTS AND DONATIONS

At the very beginning of the public-school movement there was inaugurated the giving of public lands in perpetuity, and the income from such lands was devoted to the schools. At first these lands were granted by the colonies as a whole; afterwards new towns at their settlements set apart certain portions as "ministerial and school lots." Schoolmaster lots were also awarded as "encouragement" for men to take up the work. When Pormont was invited to become the Boston master, he was given thirty acres of land at Muddy River, now Brookline, and a similar award was later given to his successor, Daniel Maude. Some of the earlier and more extensive grants are well known, but are restated here to round out the discussion. It is well known that the Dorchester school was founded on a land grant, but it is not generally known how far-reaching this system was.

Let me repeat the history of the grant to the school at Dorchester. An island in Boston harbor was settled by David Thompson in 1626. When Dorchester was settled this island had been vacated, and in 1635, by act of the General Court, it was given to the inhabitants of the town. This island was divided into lots and assigned to some or all of the freemen, who became "proprietors." When it was decided to establish a school, the income from this island was given to its support in the following vote: "There shall be a rent of £20 yearly forever imposed upon Thompson's Island, to be paid by every person that hath property in the said island, according to the proportion that any such person shall from time to time enjoy and possess

there, and this towards the maintenance of a school in Dorchester; this rent of £20 yearly to be paid to such a schoolmaster as shall undertake to teach English, Latin and other tongues, and also write; said schoolmaster to be chosen from time to time by the freemen. . . . For the levying this £20 yearly from the particular persons who ought to pay it according to this order, it is further ordered that some man shall be appointed by the seven men for the time being to receive this, and on refusal, to levy it by distress, and not finding distress, such person as so refuseth payment shall forfeit the land he hath in propriety in said island." Complications arose in 1642, and the land was conveyed directly to the town. "Whereas the inhabitants of Dorchester have formerly ordered, consented and agreed that a rate of £20 per annum shall issue and be paid by the said inhabitants and their heirs from and out of a certain portion of land in Dorchester called Thompson's Island, for and towards the maintenance of a school in Dorchester aforesaid, and that upon experience it is found to be a matter of great labor and difficulty to collect the said rent from so many several persons as ought to pay the same according to their several proportions, the persons that have title in the land in the said island and who therefore ought to pay the said rent being no less in number than six score or thereabouts, and inasmuch as the said rent of £20 when it is duly collected and paid is not of itself sufficient maintenance for a school without some addition thereunto for the augmenting therefore of the said rent, and to the intent that the same may henceforth be more readily collected and paid, it is hereby ordered and all the present inhabitants of Dorchester aforesaid, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do for themselves and their heirs hereby covenant, consent and agree, that from henceforth the said island and all the benefits and profits thereof and all their right and interest in the same shall be wholly and forever bequeathed and given away from themselves and their heirs unto the

town of Dorchester aforesaid, for and towards the maintenance of a free school in Dorchester aforesaid, for the instructing and teaching of children and youth in good literature and learning. And to the intent that the better maintenance for a free school as is hereby intended may arise from and out of the said land, it is therefore the mind of the present donors that the said island shall from time to time be let, assigned and set over by the inhabitants of Dorchester for the time being or their agents, for such yearly rent or rents as shall in common estimation amount to the full value of the said island." Tenants were obliged to give security for the rent, and their number was limited. They were not to be "above ten in number at once."

A few years later Thompson's heirs claimed the island, and their claim was allowed. The town then petitioned the General Court for a new grant, and in 1648 received this reply: "In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Dorchester for some island for and towards the maintenance of a free school amongst them and in lieu of Thompson's Island which is now taken from them, it was agreed upon by the Court that when the town should present that which was fit to be given, it should be conferred upon them." It was not until 1659 that further action was taken, when it was voted by the Court, "The deputies think meet to grant this petition, viz., a thousand acres of land for the end mentioned in this petition, where they can find it according to law." Two men were empowered "to search and stake out a farm of one thousand acres of land granted unto the town of Dorchester for the use of a school by the order of the General Court." This grant was not finally located until 1717, when it was set apart in Worcester County. A committee which examined it later reported "upon a careful review thereof, the north side to be good land, but the south side to be uneven and mean land." It was finally sold at public auction for four hundred pounds.

It was a very common procedure for towns to apply to the General Court for an assignment of land to aid them in their school support. Groton, in 1734, furnished a good illustration of a petition for land: "The town taking into consideration the obligations they are under by law of the Province, to be continually provided with a grammar school, and their poverty and inability to the same, voted that Benjamin Prescott, Esq., representative in this town, be desired and fully empowered in behalf of the town to prefer a petition to the Great and General Court for a tract of land, the profits and produce of which to be applied and approved for or towards the support of a grammar school in this town, and to use his best endeavors that the same be effected." In 1735 Braintree petitioned the General Court, and among other things pleaded, "And likewise grant us something gratis for our having kept a free Latin school for about ninety years." Milton, in 1670, petitioned the "fathers and brethren" of Dorchester for a tract of the common land lying in Stoughton, to help in the support of their schools. In 1706 one hundred fifty acres of unproductive land were granted, and they were sold in 1782.

When the Connecticut colonies established the four county grammar schools, six hundred acres of land were set apart for each school, as this record of the Court of Election in 1672 shows: "This Court granted to the county towns of Fairfield and New London the sum of six hundred acres of land apiece, to each of those county towns, to be taken up where it may not prejudice any former grant, which said land shall be and belong to the said county towns forever, to be improved in the best manner that may be for the benefit of a grammar school in the said county towns, and to no other use or end whatsoever." New Haven and Hartford also received similar grants.

The islands from which Boston and Charlestown derived school incomes were given them by the Court. When the

academy at Marblehead was incorporated, in 1792, the state granted a "township of land six miles square, lying between the rivers of Kennebec and Penobscot," for its support. It was afterwards sold to Samuel Sewall for fifteen hundred pounds. In 1804 the legislature granted the Sandwich school one half township of six square miles of unappropriated lands in the District of Maine, "for the use of said academy on condition that $3000 be actually raised and secured" from other sources for an endowment. At Duxbury, in 1742, two men were chosen agents "to go down to the Eastward" to see about the land granted by the General Court toward supporting a grammar school. Later it was voted to sell this land for seven hundred fifty pounds old tenor.

But the greater part of the land came from town assignments. Towns set apart certain portions of their land for the minister and the school. In 1653 Springfield appropriated "a tract of land on Chicopee plain to support a schoolmaster." Sometime later, inasmuch as some of the land had been sold, so that only thirty acres remained, it was voted, "The major part of the town for several reasons do resolve not to dispose of the said thirty acres of land to any particular person or persons, as their property, but do hereby order that the aforesaid thirty acres of land at the lower end of Chicopee plain over the great river shall be reserved in the town's hands as the town's land for the town's use, either for the helping to maintain a schoolmaster, or ruling elder, or to help bear any other town charges according as it shall hereafter be concluded on. . . . And further it is ordered that the select townsmen shall have liberty to let out the said land for a year or years to bring in some yearly rental to the town, if they find any to take it."

In 1695 it was voted "that the ancient appropriation of Chicopee land on the west side of the river be to the maintenance of a school in the town of Springfield, also that

the six acres of meadow, be it more or less, on the east side of the river . . . be appropriated to the same use, and is now granted unto that use, viz., towards the maintenance of a school in the town of Springfield forever."

In 1651 Ipswich gave all the "neck beyond Chebacco river and the rest of the ground up to the Gloucester line" to the grammar school. This land was leased "for £14 a year, that is, £4 in butter and cheese, £5 in pork and beef, £5 in corn, at the current price." At Plymouth, in 1672, "the town did agree and unanimously vote and conclude that their land at Sepecan, Agawam and places adjacent, the profits and benefits thereof shall be improved and employed for and towards the maintenance of the free school now begun and erected at Plymouth; and the profits and benefits thereof shall no way be estranged from the said use; so long as their school shall be occupied to use it for that end and in that behalf." A committee of two and the selectmen were delegated to look after it. In 1674 the committee was urged "to do their utmost to improve the said lands for the attaining of the said ends propounded, namely, that their children be perfected in reading when they are entered in the Bible; and also that they be taught to write and cypher, besides that which the county expects from the said school." In 1701 the town voted "that the interest of money arising from the sale of lands should constitute an inalienable and perpetual fund." In 1800 the town voted "to apply the proceeds of the sale of Indian lands to the support of schools," but there is no record to show how much this amounted to.

In 1701, at Taunton, "the proprietors ordered that 100 acres of land shall be laid out on both sides of Rehoboth road at the head of the meadow called Crossman's meadow, and said land to be laid out soon as may be and to be improved and the benefits thereof to be used perpetually for and towards the maintaining of a free school in Taunton, and never to be alienated to any other use."

At the first meeting of the Worcester proprietors, before any settlement had been begun, it was agreed that a lot of land should be "appropriated for the maintenance of a school and schoolmaster, to remain for that use forever." Forty acres were set apart for this purpose. In 1740 a committee was appointed "to lease out the school lands and meadow the year ensuing for the most they will fetch." In 1786 it was voted "to sell the ministerial and school lands . . . and that they be sold at public vendue." In 1792 they petitioned the General Court for permission to sell the ministerial and school lands. This was granted, "provided that the money which has arisen and shall arise from the sale or sales of said land, shall be put at interest on good security, and the annual interest arising on the amount of such sale or sales shall be applied for the support of the ministry and schools in said town, agreeably to the original design for which the said lands were reserved."

In 1671 Northampton voted to set apart "a parcel of land containing 80 or 100 acres, if it can be found, for some public use as for encouragement of a school or for what use the town shall see good." This land was laid out in two pieces and leased so as to bring in ten pounds yearly. It was held for seven years, then sold, and the money funded for the use of the schools. Trumbull says: "The money received from these sales, amounting to £1923–10–0, became the principal of a fund, the interest of which was expended yearly in maintaining the schools. It varied in amount with the fluctuations of the currency, and was loaned to individuals on good security. In 1753 it amounted to £2095 old tenor, equal to £297–6–8 in lawful money, the interest of which amounted to £16–15–12." North Brookfield, in 1720, "then granted for a school forty acres on the north side of the river." There had been two previous grants in 1717 of eighty acres each. "These school lands were leased by the selectmen to such inhabitants as would pay the highest rent and this

income was applied by the selectmen (without an express vote of the town) to the payment of teachers' wages." In 1760 it was voted "that the interest of the money due the town for the sale of common land called 'The Rocks' and other lands sold last year be appropriated for the support of a free school for the benefit of the inhabitants of said town, as the selectmen shall order for this year, and until the town shall further direct in the affair." In 1659 Mendon had the usual school lot and the schoolmaster's home lot. The grant of the General Court to Lunenburg, in 1719, contained this, "And that there be laid out and reserved for the first settled minister a good, convenient lot, also a lot for the school." The next year, at a meeting of the committee, it was agreed "that the school lot be laid out as near the center of the house lots as may be."

Hubbardston, in 1737, in the division of land voted that "lot number 30 be set apart and remain unalienated for the use of schools in town." It was sold in 1796 for one thousand two hundred seventy-six dollars. In 1679 "the inhabitants of Sherborn exchanged with Natick four thousand acres of land, more or less, giving two hundred bushels of Indian corn to boot. There was also to be a lot of fifty acres set out where the commissioners of the Colonies and the Indian rulers shall choose within that tract of land which Sherborn was to have of Natick, to be appropriated forever for the use of a free school for teaching the English and Indian children the English language and other sciences." In 1737 it was voted "to make sale of £150 worth of common lands; the income and yearly interest to be towards the maintenance of a school in Natick." At Dedham, in 1642, "Also it was with an unanimous consent concluded that some portion of land in this intended division should be set apart for public use, viz., for the town, the church and a free school; viz., 40 acres at the least or 60 acres at the most." In 1644 they voted to raise twenty pounds for school purposes, "and did also resolve and

consent to betrust the said £20 per annum and certain lands in our town formerly set apart for public use, into the hands of feoffes to be presently chosen by themselves, to employ the said £20 and the land aforesaid to be improved for the use of the said school; that as the profits shall arise from the said land, every man may be proportionally abated of his sum of the said £20 aforesaid freely to be given to the use aforesaid; and that the said feoffees shall have power to make a rate for the necessary charge of improving the said land, they giving account thereof to the town or to those whom they should depute."

In 1695 "three hundred acres of land were granted by the proprietors for the support of the schools in the town, to be managed by trustees and called the school farm." In 1699 "the school land is ordered to be sold and the money received for it to be improved for the benefit of a school in Dedham." In 1722 "the trustees who hold the school money are instructed to let it at six per cent interest." "On the first day of January, 1745, the trustees of the school money had in their care the sum of £236–2–8. This money was loaned on good security to citizens of the town."

Boston, in 1641, "ordered that Deer Island shall be improved for the maintenance of a free school for the town, and such other occasions as the townsmen for the time being shall think meet, the said school being sufficiently provided for." In 1644 it was let for three years at the rate of seven pounds per annum, expressly for the use of the school. In 1647 it was "let to Edward Bendall of Boston with all the profits thereof whatsoever, for the term of seven years next ensuing the date thereof. In consideration thereof he is to pay to the town of Boston the sum of £14 per annum for the schools' use of the said town, in provision and clothing." The right of the inhabitants to cut wood from the island was reserved. In 1662 it was leased to Sir Thomas Temple for fourteen pounds per annum, "to be paid yearly every first

day of March to the town treasurer for the use of the free school." In 1649 "it is further ordered that the selectmen of the town shall take order about Long Island and Spectacle Island with them that now hold it, to instate it on them for inheritance upon paying a yearly rent upon every acre for the school use." These islands were let at sixpence per year per acre, and the rents were to be paid "to the town treasurer the 1st of February forever or else their land is forfeit unto the town's disposing." In 1655 this order was passed: "Whereas a considerable part of the rent due to the use of the school for Long Island and Spectacle Island is not brought in by the renters of the land according to the contract with the town; it is therefore ordered that the present renters shall within ten days after the date hereof come in and clear their several payments due for the said land to the town treasurer, upon the forfeiture of the said lands as by former agreement, to be entered upon by the said treasurer, by warrant under his hand to the constable."

A similar history is found in all the other colonies. Land grants were common, and how to make them profitable to the schools and retain them, or to loan the funds for which they were sold, was a constantly recurring problem. Hartford had received much land through various donations, and in 1749 found it not only unprofitable but deteriorating through damage from trespassers. Therefore it was "voted and agreed that all the lands anciently given and granted to the purposes abovesaid, situate and lying in this town on the east side of the great river, be by lawful demise or otherwise disposed of for the term of five hundred years, or for such longer or shorter time as the committee hereafter named and to that purpose appointed think best; and that the moneys thereon arising and received be by said committee carefully loaned out in such manner as shall effectively save the principal sum from any loss; and the interest on such loan from time to time arising forever hereafter be by the committee of said

grammar school for the time being carefully applied to the proper use or uses designed in the original donation or grants of said lands." These lands were leased to various people at differing rates. The leases ran for nine hundred years. Besides the amount of the lease, each lessee was to pay the committee "or the successors in said capacity, on the first Monday in January, annually, one silver penny, if especially thereunto required."

Stratford, in 1687, voted that "what land the town hath at or near the ferry, upland and meadow, now in the possession of Moses Wheeler, Senior, that the produce and benefit thereof shall henceforth forever be paid and improved for and towards the maintaining of a public school for and in the town of Stratford." In 1660 New Haven agreed to devote "the Eldred lot and the oyster shell fields to educational uses," in connection with the Colony grammar school. In 1728 the Hopkins Fund Committee was given full power over the oyster fields, "to be improved by them for the upholding of a grammar school in the First Parish of this town for the educating of children of Presbyterian parents only, and no other use whatever forever, hereafter." The New London proprietors granted "one right or share in all the divisions of said common land towards the support of the grammar school in said town." In October, 1752, they prayed for liberty "to make sale of said common land, and that the money arising by the sale thereof may be improved towards the support of said school," and this was granted. Goshen, Connecticut, in 1737, enacted "that one of the fifty-three parts into which the town was to be divided be set apart for the support of the schools." This was drawn by lot and leased for nine hundred ninety-nine years. Middletown, in 1745, appointed a committee of three to look after school affairs; "and said committee to have the care of the school lands and rent them out to the best advantage, and the income thereof to be paid to the schoolmaster by said

committee in part of his wages." In 1787 the school lands were let "for six bushels of good Indian corn." In 1789 it was voted "that the eastermost school land be now let out by the moderator to the highest bidder for one year, and the said land not to be plowed nor to be impoverished by carrying off any hay, stones, or anything that belongs to the premises; which land was bid off to Salisbury Stoddard, Esq., for thirteen bushels of good merchantable Indian corn, the corn to be paid or delivered into the treasury by or before the expiration of the aforesaid time."

In the settlement of New Hampshire, towns generally set apart some lands for the use of future schools. These lands were often sold, and to-day towns have small funds arising therefrom, the income of which is still devoted to school use. Raymond had a lot of one hundred acres, which was sold in 1795, creating a fund of nearly twelve hundred dollars. The interest is now used for schools. The original grant of Fitzwilliam read, "Secondly, that three of the aforesaid shares be and hereby are appropriated, one for the first settled minister, one for the use of the ministry, and one for the use of a school, on said tract of land when settled." This one share was two parcels of one hundred acres each, drawn by lot. The school lands, like the ministerial, could not be sold, but could be leased for a long term of years. At a proprietors' meeting in 1777 a committee was chosen "to dispose of the ministerial and school lands and make returns at the next proprietors' meeting." They were leased in four lots of fifty acres each for nine hundred ninety-nine years, at six per cent on forty-two pounds ten shillings. The rental was paid until 1815, when the leases were renewed in the name of the town. "The leases now given were for the term of 999 years, at the nominal rent of three cents a year on each lot, the lessees advancing and paying the rent in full except this nominal sum of three cents a year, and, in some of the leases at least, this sum was payable only when called for."

The Concord (New Hampshire) school land was rented out. About 1730 it was voted "that £5 be accepted of David Barker and William Barker for the rent of the plowland of the school lot for the year current." In 1775 it was voted "that the selectmen be a committee to lease out the two intervale lots belonging to the school rights, the term of two years, to the highest bidder. Voted that the selectmen be a committee to lease out the eighty-acre lot belonging to the school right to Oliver Hoit for the term of 900 years, he, the said Hoit, paying the parish annually six dollars." In 1777 this vote was rescinded and "the selectmen are directed to receive of said Hoit $100 in full consideration for said lot and give said Hoit a full discharge." Salisbury, in 1772, voted "to raise half a day's work on the single head to be done on the south end of the sixty-acre lot, which was laid out for the school." The lot was located "on Searles' hill on the center rangeway by the parsonage, opposite the ten-acre meeting-house lot." Mr. Edward Eastman "agreed to maintain a reading and writing school for three months in the year for ten years and then a grammar school for six months a year for ten years more, . . . if the town would give him the use of the school lot." The town really did give him a seventy-year lease but it was canceled in a few years. In 1784 it was voted "to sell all the school lands and put the principal in the bank and use the interest for the support of schools in the town annually."

Boscawen, in 1789, voted "to dispose of a portion of its school lands and keep the fund intact for educational purposes." It was voted that "stock equal to 6 fat oxen at £12 the yoke, wheat at 5s. per bushel, rye at 4s., and Indian corn at 3s. be taken in payment." Many of the town grants stipulated land reservation for the schools. The proprietors of Contoocook "were required to set aside one-eighty-fourth part of the land in their grant for school purposes," and the Sanbornton grant read, "And one share for the support of

a schoolmaster forever." Amherst voted that "lots numbered 87, 88, 89 should lie by for the present to make good for the three lots, viz., one for the first settled minister, one for the ministry and one for the school." These lots were evidently sold, for in 1775 an article in the town warrant read, "To see if the town will allow that part of the town that was originally called Amherst to use the interest of the money their school right was lately sold for in private schools." It was voted No. The Hopkinton charter differed from most of them in this: there were two ministers' lots, "one of which lots shall be for the first settled minister, one for the second minister, and one for the school." These lots were located "on the north range, beginning at the meetinghouse on the west side, No. 1, the minister's, No. 5, the ministerial lot, No. 6, school lot." Weare had the usual school lots but had received no income from them; so in 1787 it was voted to rent them for a term "as long as wood grows and water runs." At Dublin the whole grant was to be divided into seventy-one shares; three shares were allotted, "one for the first settled minister in the town, one for the support of the ministry, and one for the schoolteacher forever." At a committee meeting at Chester, in 1720, it was voted that "whereas the number of proprietors is con- [a part of this word is torn off] and no provision made for a schoolmaster, that the next proprietor that shall forfeit his lot, the same shall be appropriated for a school." In 1791 it was voted to sell the schoolhouse lots. They brought about one hundred forty pounds. In 1796 the treasurer had six hundred dollars school money. Dunbarton appointed a committee to lease all the school lands for nine hundred ninety-nine years. "For the consideration of $575.20 they were leased to John Raymond, he being the highest bidder at a public vendue." Henniker, in 1786, "voted to sell the school right of land. . . . Voted that the sum or sums that said land is sold for shall be paid only for the support of

a school, and the principal to lie forever." At Brunswick, Maine, in 1715, the proprietors voted "that the ministerial, minister's and school lots should be the center lots of the town."

With reference to Warren, Maine, a legislative act of 1805 appointed five trustees "to dispose of all the real estate belonging to the town which was originally appropriated for the use of the schools, to put the proceeds thereof at interest until a sum be accumulated sufficient to yield an annual income of $200, then to apply the same annually to the support of schools, forever." Woodstock, Vermont, settled in 1760, laid out four lots as "public rights"; three were for the gospel in some form, but the fourth lot, "embracing one hundred acres, was to be for the use of the schoolmaster." Bradford, Vermont, had school land of three hundred acres. In March, 1812, the town entered into a contract with Jonathan Austin, one of its inhabitants, to lease the above-mentioned three hundred acres of school land to him, his heirs and assigns, "as long as wood should grow or water run," for one hundred dollars yearly. This probably went into the school fund which was loaned to the town, and for which interest is still paid to the school district every year.

In May, 1663, the proprietors of Providence passed the following order: "It is agreed by this present assembly that 100 acres of upland and 6 acres of meadow (or lowland to the quantity of 8 acres in lieu of meadow) shall be laid out within the bounds of this town of Providence; the which land shall be reserved for the maintenance of a school in this town; and that after the said land is laid out and the bounds thereof set, it shall be recorded in our town records according unto the bounds fixed, and shall be called by the name of the school land of Providence." This is the earliest grant now to be found in the records and the earliest reference to a school or any means of education. In 1685 this

petition was presented: "The humble request of William Turpin, now schoolmaster of the said town, is that whereas there was a parcel of land formerly granted by the ancestors of said town, and was to be to the use and benefit of a schoolmaster as by the records of the town book will more at large appear, which said order or grant was read to me in the presence of several gentlemen, that were the occasion of my settling at this town, who promised to be instrumental in the performance thereof, gentlemen, my desire is, that the aforesaid land may be forthwith laid out, according to the said order or grant, and that the said master or his heirs may be invested in the said land, so long as he or any of them shall maintain that worthy art of learning. Thus leaving it to you, gentlemen, to give a speedy answer, according as you shall think meet, I rest yours to command.

"William Turpin."

Newport, in 1640, voted "that 100 acres should be laid forth and appropriated for a school, for encouragement of the poorer sort to train up their youth in learning, and Mr. Robert Lenthal, while he continues to teach school, is to have the benefit thereof." In 1663 this tract was ordered "to be divided into lots and to be sold or loaned on condition that the purchasers should pay to the town treasurer an annual rental to constitute a fund for the schooling and educating of poor children, according to the direction of the Town Council for the time being, who are hereby empowered to direct, regulate and manage the said charity in behalf of the town, to the best advantage according to the true intent and meaning thereof." The Bristol school lands until 1810 were put up at auction at the annual town meeting, but after that date a plan of long leases was effected.

In addition to these public land grants much land was donated by individuals, together with other forms of property. It all indicated an earnest desire to establish the schools on a permanent financial basis. In 1649 Christopher Stanley

in his will left "for the maintenance of the free schools at Boston, a parcel of land lying near to the water side and five rods in length backwards." It was immediately leased as is shown by this item: "William Philips hath agreed to give 13s. 4d. per annum forever to the use of the school for the land that Christopher Stanley gave in his will for the school use; the rent day began the 1st of March, 1649. Moses Paine of Braintree hath let to him 500 acres of land, to be laid out at Braintree, paying 40 shillings per annum forever for the use of the school, and to begin his rent day on the first of May, 1649, to be paid on the first day of the first month forever, in corn or pork, by the price current, and that to be paid into the town treasury successively."

Whately, in 1777, "voted to accept the piece of land given by Reuben Belding, deceased, for the use of the schools in the town of Whately, upon conditions named in his will." These conditions were: that it be an English school; that it be kept on Chestnut Plain Street, "near where the present meeting house stands"; that it be "set up within two years," and "be not suffered at any time thereafter to cease or fail to be kept up and maintained for the term of six months in any future year." In spite of the vote this was never carried out and the land was forfeited. At Windsor, Connecticut, about 1676, John Fitch, going out to King Philip's War, willed, "The rest, both lands and goods, I give for the promoting of a school here in Windsor." In 1775 Josiah Sartell left Groton his place for rental, etc., "and the overplus of said rents to be annually applied for the keeping of a good woman's school for the instruction of the youth in said town, and the said school to be kept in a part of the dwelling house standing on said farm."

The will of William Godden of Malden, who died in 1666, states, "I give the remainder of my estate that can any way be found in New England by bill, bond, or otherwise due to me, I say I give the remainder of my estate to be disposed

of for the schooling of the poor children of Charlestown and Malden, into equal portions, to be paid by the direction of the selectmen of each town." William Coddington early left to Braintree one hundred forty-three acres for school purposes. According to the town records it was commonly voted "that the town of Braintree did consent to lay the school land, that is to say the income of it, for a salary for a schoolmaster." In 1714 Mr. Byfield "for and in consideration of a due regard which he had for the advancement of learning and good education," conveyed certain lands to Bristol "for the use of the schools forever." These lands were rented and supported the schools for over one hundred years before an appropriation was asked from the town. At Boxford, in 1791, the Honorable Aaron Wood willed his real estate to support a grammar school. "I give the use of my pew in the meeting house to the same purpose as my real estate." Captain Timothy Wheeler gave encouragement and support to education in Concord, in 1687, by the following clause in his will: "I give to the town of Concord my house that stands near Eliazer Flagg's house, with the land that it stands upon and is joined to it, which is about three acres, be it more or less, bounded by the highway on the northeast, by my land, the gutter and Eliazer Flagg's land on the north, west and south. That, I say, I give to the said town to be improved as followeth:—That about half an acre of the said lot be laid out to the training place, the fence to be run from the corner of the house to the brow of the hill upon a straight line; the dwelling house with the rest of the land with all that is upon it, I give to be improved for the furtherance of learning and the support of a school in the said town."

The grammar school at Ipswich, in 1651, was endowed by Robert Payne. This is the preamble of the deed: "Whereas, after several overtures and endeavors among the inhabitants of said Ipswich, for settling a grammar school in that place, it was proffered by the said Robert . . . that he would erect

an edifice for such a purpose, provided it might be put into the hands of certain discreet and faithful persons of the said town and their successors, which himself should nominate, to be ordered and managed by them as feoffees, in trust for that end, and their successors forever; provided, also, that the town or any particular inhabitant of the town would devote, set apart, and give any land or other annuity for the yearly maintenance of such one as should be fit to keep a grammar school; And whereas said town of Ipswich at a public meeting of the inhabitants, January 11, 1650, granted all the neck beyond Chebacco River, and the rest of the ground (up to Gloucester line) adjoining to it, to the said Robert Payne and William Payne, to whom by the desire and consent of the said town at the same time were added Major Denison and William Bartholomew, for the use of the school." Other assistance was given as is shown by these items: "And that the said Robert did in the year following, viz., 1652, purchase an house with two acres of land belonging to it, more or less, for the use of the schoolmaster, and did likewise in the succeeding year, 1653, at his own proper cost and charge build an edifice for a grammar school which was erected upon a part of the land so purchased." "Mr. William Hubbard gave about an acre of land adjoining to the said schoolmaster's house about the same time." "William Payne gave the island at the mouth of our river called Little Neck." "Mr. John Cross, in December, 1650, secured on his farm near Rowley the payment of 10 shillings towards a free school." This was the school of which Ezekiel Cheever was master for ten years. "He built a barn and planted an orchard which, on his removal, were purchased by the feoffees and added to the property of the institution." In 1642 the will of Samuel Hugburne read: "When Roxbury shall set up a free school in the town, there shall be ten s. per annum out of the house and house lot paid unto it forever." Dillaway says, "There is no

evidence on record that our school ever received this annuity." In 1671 Mr. Thomas Bell made his will bequeathing to trustees all his houses and lands in Roxbury "to and for instructing of poor men's children at Roxbury." Various other donations were made to the town by John Ruggles, in 1676, and by Hugh Thomas and his wife, also in 1676, who proposed "to make over their house, orchard, house lot, and night pasture, provided that they would agree to take care of and provide for them in sickness and health, during their natural lives, and decently inter them after their death. At a meeting of the inhabitants held March 23, 1676, the proposal of Thomas was accepted on condition that he would make a legal conveyance of his property to John Weld, Edward Morris and John Watson as feoffees, in trust for the use of said inhabitants. This agreement was signed by twenty-five inhabitants, and the said Thomas conveyed all his real estate by deed, dated April 7, 1677; and also by assignment all the real estate of his nephew, John Roberts, which was conveyed to him by will of said Roberts, a short time previous; and in 1687, by another assignment, all his bills, bonds, legacies," etc. In 1693 John Watson gave three acres of salt marsh for the use of the school, and in 1689 the Reverend John Eliot deeded about seventy-five acres of land "to and for the maintenance, support and encouragement of a school and schoolmaster at that part of Roxbury commonly called Jamaica or Pond Plain, for the teaching and instructing of the children of that end of the town (together with such negroes or Indians as may or shall come to said school), and to no other use, intent or purpose, under any color or pretence whatever." In 1796 a committee was appointed "to lease the school farm and all the other lands belonging to the grammar school in the easterly part of Roxbury, except Mead's orchard, at public vendue, to the highest bidder, for the term of 120 years, . . . the net proceeds to be vested in other real estate."

The value of such donations was recognized in the Connecticut Colony by the passage in 1684 of this order: "For the encouragement of learning and promoting the public concernments, it is ordered by this court, that for the future, that all such houses and lands as are or shall by any charitable persons be given or purchased for or to help on the maintenance of the ministry, or schools or poor, in any part of this Colony, they shall remain to the use or uses for which they were given forever, and shall be exempted out of the list of estates and be rate free, any former law or order notwithstanding." In 1654 William Gibbins gave his land in Peniwise "towards the maintenance of a Latin school at Hartford, . . . and until the lease of John Sadler be expired, I give out of the rent due from him 50 shillings yearly." This land was let in 1756 by the committee in charge "on a long lease which will not expire for centuries to come." In 1710 it was voted "that the school committee are empowered to exchange and convey the house and homelot belonging to the town, that is improved for the maintenance of the school in this town, either for meadow land or for other lands that may be of benefit and advantage to the said school"; and in 1713 it was voted "that whereas the yearly income and rents for the maintenance of the Latin School in this town are supposed to be sufficient to maintain the same, that the sum of £5 in money be levied and collected by town rate annually (if need be), as an addition to the said incomes to maintain the said school." One of the largest personal grants was that of Edward Hopkins in 1657, who willed some of his New England property, "to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youths, both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times." This fund became available in 1664, and Hartford received four hundred pounds of it. The income from that fund still pays for the classical teacher in that city. The rest of the estate

was to be "all of it equally divided between the towns of New Haven and Hadley, to be managed and improved for the erecting and maintaining a school in each of the said towns." Hadley received three hundred eight pounds out of the Hopkins legacy for grammar schools, and in 1667 the "town have granted to and for the use of a grammar school in this town of Hadley, and to be and remain perpetually to and for the use of the said school, the two little meadows," etc.

William Grimes willed his land to Greenwich for the good of the town; the trustees agreed "that it be for the use of the minister, and if no minister be in the place, the profit of the said land and meadows be improved to help to maintain such as shall be employed to teach children to read."

People who had no land to give frequently gave other donations to show their interest in the establishment of schools and their desire to aid in the good work. These sums, often small, must have greatly aided in the work in the earlier years. In 1645 Thomas Bell, who afterwards did make a land donation, gave thirteen shillings to the school; later it was made fifteen shillings, and in 1669 twenty shillings. Edward Hopkins gave a personal donation to the Cambridge Grammar School.

In 1654 Boston ordered "that the £10 left by legacy to the use of the school of Boston by Miss Hudson, deceased, shall be let to Capt. James Oliver for 16s. per annum, so long as he pleases to improve it, the which he is to pay in wheat, pease, and Indian corn to the town treasurer every first of the first month, beginning in March, 1654–5, and upon his delivery of the principal to the town treasury, it shall be paid in corn as aforementioned." In 1680 Dr. William Avery gave Dedham sixty pounds for the support of a Latin school. Mr. Samuel Veasey gave Braintree twenty pounds. A later record of the selectmen says: "There is £14 lawful money, being part of Mr. Samuel Veasey's

gift to the school, in Samuel Payne's hand. The other part, being £6, is in Mr. Samuel Marshall's hand of Boston, merchant." In 1717 the town accepted "£4 in bills of credit in lieu of the £6," and gave "said Marshall a full discharge for said legacy." Deacon Nathaniel Kingsbury of Dedham, in 1749, made this proposition: "Gentlemen, being desirous of the flourishing state of learning in this place, I purpose a donation to the town of £100 old tenor, the yearly interest of which to be appropriated to the use of the school, if it may be acceptable, under such regulations as the town in their wisdom and prudence shall see meet to order and appoint."

In 1763 Comfort Starr left Danbury eight hundred pounds, the schoolmaster "to be paid his wages out of the interest of the said £800." In 1771 Captain Ephraim Brigham left Marlboro one hundred eleven pounds as a permanent fund, the interest of which was to be "annually expended in hiring some suitable person to keep a school in the middle of the town, to teach young people the arts of writing and cyphering." In 1782 Dr. Daniel Lathrop left Norwich five hundred pounds, "the interest to be annually improved for the support of a school for all the inhabitants of the whole town." In 1789 Mrs. Sarah Winslow offered Dunstable one thousand three hundred thirty-three pounds six shillings eight pence, lawful money, one half for the gospel and the rest for school use under this condition: "That a convenient house for a grammar school be built within one year as near the said meetinghouse as the grounds will admit a house for said purpose, and on the said ground to be upheld forever, and such a learned and virtuous schoolmaster be provided as the President of the University in Cambridge shall recommend, provided, likewise that I am not held to pay parish taxes, nor any more expenses for the support of a school in said town." The town accepted the offer, but the west part objected so decidedly that later in the year she retracted and gave the money to

"the people that lately formed the First Parish, and to such others as will cheerfully accept of it." The parish accepted and in June it was incorporated into a district, now Tyngsboro. In 1812 the Honorable Samuel Dexter made a donation to Dedham and, in making it, suggested "that certain sums formerly appropriated for the same purpose, both principal and interest of which were expended during the Revolution in hiring soldiers, should be replaced by the town." Many of these early donations have disappeared, as in Dedham, through the severe struggles of the Revolution or those preceding that period. They became absorbed in the town finances, disappeared, and were not replaced by succeeding generations. Certain money from the sale of land belonging to the schools was disposed of by Canton in 1791 by this vote: "In the present embarrassing situation of the town, it is judged expedient for the town to make use of the school money to pay their debts, on interest; but at the same time it is hereby declared that the town will by no means alienate the fund, but will again raise and refund the money, which shall be applied to the use of the schools, agreeable to the design of the donor." In 1712 the school fund in Plymouth had increased to such an extent that an amount of only ten pounds was needed to defray the expense of the school. Davis in his history of the town says: "What became of this fund it is difficult to learn, but as it was stated in a report in 1756 on the financial affairs of the town that it had sometimes been suffered to mingle with other town expenditures, it is quite probable that it was finally absorbed by the general wants of the town."

Duxbury, in 1753, appointed three men as "their committee to demand the money, with interest thereunto belonging, of those persons that hired the money that was formerly granted to the town by virtue of land that was sold at Souhigan for the use of the grammar school, or else to see that said persons procure some good able bondsmen for the

money aforesaid, with the interest thereof, to their satisfaction for securing the said money to said town." At a later meeting the town wanted a report "of what there is due to the town of the interest money that is for the use of the grammar school," and in 1762 the town treasurer was given power "to sue out the several bonds the town has against or of several persons for the money they had of the town that was appropriated for the use of a grammar school."

It had been the general custom to convert the lands into funds, in the expectation that a larger income might be derived therefrom. Loans were made on a good business basis, usually, but town difficulties and business depressions due to the irregular currency and tax burdens caused shrinkage and losses, until most of the values donated before the Revolution disappeared. A few towns receiving early grants returned them, and most of those whose grants are dated in the later 1700's still have the use of the funds. Loss of funds can be charged to conditions, not to intention. A few records will show the tendency of towns to care for these donations and to make them as profitable as possible.

In 1725 Sutton voted "that Freegrace Marble and Ebenezer Dagit be a committee to take care of the school lot and the ministerial lot that there be no waste of the wood and timber"; but later in the year it was voted "that the school land in Sutton be all sold, reserving the thirty-acre lot, and the money to be put out for the benefit of a school in Sutton forever." In 1772 Westminster voted "to sell all the school lands within the town, the money arising by sale thereof to be let out at interest for the benefit of a school." Salisbury, in 1772, voted to "raise half a day's work on the single head, to be done on the south end of the sixty-acre lot which was laid for the school." In 1784 it was voted to sell all the school lands, put the money in the bank, and use the interest to support schools. In 1779 Winchendon voted "that the town will not take the present currency for the rents on those

school and ministerial lands wherein the lease mentions lawful money of Great Britain." At Douglass, "in 1750, a vote is recorded to sell the school lot lying by the meeting house to the highest bidder at £6 old tenor per annum." The next year the money was invested. The school lands given by proprietors of Sherburne were sold gradually; in 1763 the income was sufficient "with the addition of only £3 to comfortably support five schools in as many different parts of the town."

The support of schools was a burden which people of the present day cannot realize. All expedients to relieve the burden aided in efficiency and in establishing permanence. Though the men of the third and fourth generations from the original settlers were seemingly indifferent to the schools, and though education went to a low ebb, it is chargeable more to inability than to indifference. The long list of private gifts and donations point to the fact that the spirit of education was neither dead nor sleeping; it was crushed by circumstances from which these private resources finally aided it to emerge and grow.

IX

SCHOOLHOUSES

In August, 1904, it was my privilege to visit a small school in a lumber camp in the middle of the Maine woods. It was housed in an old freight car contributed by the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad. This car had been removed from its trucks, skidded into the woods, and set up in a small clearing. In it were two small windows, a door, twenty desks, and a small blackboard. It was occupied by some eighteen pupils and had as teacher a young lady who taught in this school from April to October, and attended one of the Maine Normal Schools the rest of the year. The following winter I visited a school building in New York, which cost nearly a million dollars and accommodates almost five thousand pupils. There are two hundred fifty thousand schoolhouses in the United States between these two extremes, any one of which is more sumptuous, better lighted, better seated, better equipped than most of those which sheltered the early schools.

There is a generally erroneous idea that the colonists built the schoolhouse soon after towns were settled. In point of fact, the meetinghouse, the gristmill, and the pound, all preceded the schoolhouse. Naturally, with their religious zeal, the church preceded the school; the meetinghouse was the first public building, while the schoolhouse often waited for more than a generation before it was voted and longer before it was built. At Chester, in 1720, at a meeting of proprietors, it was voted "that as soon as thirty householders are settled there shall be a minister of the gospel maintained by the whole proprietary; and as soon as fifty families are settled

there shall be a meetinghouse for the public worship of God built by the whole proprietary." There is no record of their first schoolhouse, though in 1737 it was voted to have a schoolmaster.

Springfield was founded in 1636, recognized by the General Court in 1641, but did not build its first schoolhouse until 1679. It was voted ponderously that "there should be an house erected for that noble design of learning the youth in those necessary pieces or parts of learning; videl., reading and writing." The first meetinghouse was built in 1644, and on September 4, 1646, this entry was made: "A bargain was drawn the day abovesaid betwixt the town of Springfield and Francis Ball for a shop for a smith, which is to be 12 feet wide, 16 feet in length, 6 feet stud betwixt joints, a chimney for the forge runged, to be boarded both roof and sides, to make a door and window in the end, with a beam in the midst, for which work to be satisfactorily accomplished by September, the 28th, next, the town doth condition to pay him £5 either in wheat at 3s. 8d. per bushel, or work as he shall need it, to be paid in unto him the 10th of March next at the house of Harry Smith. It is agreed that this house shall remain in the hands of the town till they see cause to dispose otherwise of it." In 1658 the building was given to John Stewart. This is given merely to show that *religion* and *life*, the material things as found in the gristmill and the smithy, necessarily received first consideration. This is a general, not a special, condition.

Deerfield, settled in 1677, voted its first schoolhouse in 1698. Easton, settled in 1725, built its first schoolhouse in 1770. Braintree was settled in 1640; the date of the first schoolhouse is not given, but it was mentioned in 1679 and was called "the old school house" in 1700. As these early buildings were very poorly built and seldom lasted over twenty years, it is probable that it was not erected many years previous to 1679. There was no mention of a schoolhouse in

Charlestown until 1648, twelve years after the school was begun. Medfield, settled in 1650, considered building a schoolhouse in 1661, and built it five years later. Framingham had been founded sixty years before the first schoolhouse was mentioned, which, however, was not built for another ten years. Medford built its meetinghouse in 1696, but made no mention of a school until 1719. The first mention of a schoolhouse was in the town warrant of November, 1729: "And also to know whether the town will have the old meetinghouse taken down and the material improved towards building a schoolhouse for the use of the town." After three years more of wrangling in eight town meetings the building was completed. Newton was set off from Cambridge in 1679; twenty years later the town voted to build a schoolhouse "as soon as they can." Amesbury was settled in 1668. In 1716 their town-clerk teacher, Orlando Bagley, Jr., "doth give and grant to and for the use of said town one half quarter of an acre of land fronting on the county road adjacent to a town highway, on the west side, for the privilege of setting a schoolhouse on so long as the town see cause there to keep a school." The meeting voted "to build a schoolhouse, to be built within the space of two years after the date hereof, to be finished and set on the land before mentioned, at the town's cost." Hampton, New Hampshire, engaged its first schoolmaster in 1649, but no mention is made of a schoolhouse until 1692. This was at the time of King William's War. "The people, liable to be attacked at any moment, had built a fortification around the meetinghouse and at a town meeting held on the 17th of May, 1692, voted to extend the line of this fortification so as to enclose more space, and liberty was granted to build houses in it according to the custom in other forts. It was also voted to build within the fort at the town's expense a house fourteen by sixteen feet for the use of the minister, and when not occupied by him to be used as a schoolhouse."

Plymouth's first schoolhouse was built by private subscription in 1705 and was bought by the town the following year. Haverhill was settled in 1641, but no schoolhouse vote was taken until 1670, when this was passed: "Voted that forthwith there shall be a house erected and built as near the meetinghouse that now is as may be, which may be convenient for the keeping of a public school in, and for the service of a watch house, and for the entertainment of such persons on the Sabbath day at noon as shall desire to repair thither and shall not repair between the forenoon and afternoon exercises to their own dwellings, which house is to be erected upon that which is now the town's common land or reserved for public use." The cost was to be raised by subscription, but if the voluntary contributions were not enough the whole cost was to be taxed on the town. Whether or not it was built is uncertain, for in 1700 it was ordered that a building "be erected for a watch house, schoolhouse, and for any other use to which it might be appropriated," and in 1723 a building was erected for the double purpose of a watch house and a schoolhouse. Norton, incorporated in 1711, began the usual schoolhouse struggle in 1789, but did not build any until after 1800. Chelmsford, settled in 1655, had no schoolhouse until 1718, when one was built by private subscription on land given by a citizen: "These presents declare that I, William Fletcher, above said, do give the 3 rods and one half, above laid out at the northerly corner of the burying place, on which the schoolhouse stands, to them that built it, to them, their heirs and assigns forever, and to that use forever." Malden, settled in 1649, began to consider a schoolhouse in 1711, when "it was put to vote whether the town would build a schoolhouse and set it on the town land on the west side of the way over against the watch house." The town voted No, but changed its mind later in the year. This was the only schoolhouse built until 1752, when "particular persons" were granted permission to

erect another. Weymouth, settled in 1635, had its first school in 1651, but had no schoolhouse for thirty years after it had a schoolmaster. Northampton, when the second meetinghouse was built in 1664, made the abandoned meetinghouse into its first schoolhouse and used it for nearly thirty years. The first real schoolhouse was built in 1693. Not only was this old meetinghouse the schoolhouse, but during King Philip's War it was appointed "to be the house for their watch house, to keep the court of guard in this troublesome time."

These illustrations of the lapses of time between settlement and schoolhouse building, taken from the earlier towns, can be duplicated all through the colonial period. Each new town repeated the experience. The following account from Hollis, New Hampshire, will sufficiently show the tendency. In 1749 the first meetinghouse was sold at public auction for forty-nine pounds. It was voted "that the money the old meetinghouse sold for be applied to the building of a schoolhouse." But none was built. Four years later a house was bought for a schoolhouse, but in 1755 it was voted "to give Samuel Cummings one half of the old meetinghouse for the use of the house the town bought of him for a schoolhouse, the three years they had it, and said Samuel Cummings to have his house again."

It is obvious that if towns did not build schoolhouses, the schoolmaster and his charges had to be lodged in other buildings. This was a simple matter in the summer time, when barns, and watch houses, and the meetinghouse were resorted to. But in winter, when there must be warmth as well as room, dwelling houses — the kitchen or some other room with a fireplace — were rented. As the meetinghouse was the first public building erected, always in the center of the town, and as the first school was established in the same center, this building in the nature of events was commonly used for these early school purposes. At Watertown, in

1650, "it is ordered and agreed that Mr. Richard Norcross doth intend to begin his employment for the teaching of the young ones of the town and to attend it at the meeting-house the next second day." Again in 1683 it was voted with reference to the grammar school, "And if the number be large, the town to have places provided for the boys in the meetinghouse." In 1656 Beverly built a meetinghouse, which was also used for a schoolhouse for some eighteen years, when it was voted to build a schoolhouse. This was evidently not erected, for in 1677 it was arranged with the schoolmaster "that he should have the meetinghouse to teach in during that summer and some other place during the winter." For many years the school in Newbury was taught in the meetinghouse. Though a schoolhouse had been previously voted in 1702, the selectmen were made a committee "to consider and report what it will cost to remove the old meetinghouse farther from the new meeting-house and to fit it up for a court house, town house and school-house." The committee made a favorable report the next year, and the old meetinghouse was put to the proposed uses. Exeter, in 1703, voted "to keep school three months in the old meetinghouse and the rest of the year at their discretion." Taunton, in 1758, voted "that the school should be kept in the public meetinghouse or the nearest place or house next to said meetinghouse, where they can get a place to have said school kept in, for the next three months after said school shall be opened." At Gloucester the school was kept in the meetinghouse until 1708. In 1724 the school at Norton was kept during the first and third quarters in dwellings but during the last quarter "at the meetinghouse." Whately, in 1772, set up the frame of a schoolhouse but did not finish the building. Two years later "the question came before the town to see if any conveniences should be made in the meetinghouse for schooling. The town voted in the negative; very wisely it would seem, as the meetinghouse was quite

as unfinished as the schoolhouse." William Baldwin, who taught the school in the district at the north meetinghouse in Goshen, Connecticut, says, "The schoolroom was planked off from a portion of the lower floor of the old meetinghouse."

Dwelling houses were very extensively used — sometimes rented by the town, at other times furnished by the master himself. Ezekiel Cheever's first school in New Haven, in 1638, was kept in his own house. This is testified to by Michael Wigglesworth, who recorded in his autobiography that he went to school to Mr. Cheever "in his own house." Hadley used a part of the Ward house in 1664, and in 1688 hired a room for school purposes. Wenham used the house of the master or the meetinghouse as seemed best. Most of the early schools of Northfield were kept in houses. It is known that Mr. Wight during all the years he taught used his dwelling house. In 1671 Salem voted "that the selectmen shall take care to provide a house for Mr. Epps to keep school in," and the next year a bill was granted by the selectmen to pay Daniel Andrews "for keeping school in his house and mending the schoolhouse that now is."

The first school in Marlboro, in 1696, "was kept at Isaac Wood's house." The same year it was recorded at Lynn, "And the town is to pay twenty-five shillings toward the hire of Nathaniel Newhall's house to keep school in, and the said Mr. Normenton to hire the said house." At Beverly, in 1686, it was "agreed by said town with Corporal David Perkins that the said town should have and did hire of said Perkins one convenient room or chamber with a fire room in it, for the space of six months after the date hereof, for the just sum of 10s. in pay, for a place for Mr. John Peasly to teach school in during said term, for the use of said town." Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1686, authorized the selectmen "to hire a schoolmaster and also to obtain a house for that use and to fit it with conveniences for schooling." At a meeting of the selectmen at Portsmouth

in 1698, "Mr. Phippes, our schoolmaster, informing that he has disbursed 50s. for a house to keep school in at the bank, which he saith the town ought to reimburse him again; agreed that the case be referred to the commissioners that assisted last year's account, and that the bargain may be declared to them, with what is alleged by Mr. Phippes as to the payment of 50s., and if the commissioners shall judge it rational, then to be paid by the town, otherwise not." Three years later it was voted that two men, as a committee, "do forthwith hire a house at the bank as near the town fort as may be for the keeping of a school in, for this year or until the town schoolhouse be fitted up." In 1702 the school at Malden was kept in a hired dwelling house, but the next year it was voted "that the school shall be kept in the watch house for this year." It was kept there only a short time before it was voted "Ezekiel Jenkins is chosen schoolmaster for this present year; and the school to be kept at his own house." When Woburn obtained a schoolmaster in 1700, "the selectmen hired for his accommodation the house of George Reid, Jr., nigh the meeting-house, at 20 shillings rent per annum. This house was accordingly fitted up as a schoolhouse at the town's expense and continued to be used for this purpose several years afterwards." Until 1705 all the schools at Plymouth had been kept in rooms supplied by the masters. Taunton, in 1688, paid nine shillings for the "hire of school house." Yarmouth, in 1693, made an appropriation "for the hire of rooms for the school." Until 1714 all appropriations in Barnstable had been made with the understanding that the schools were "to be kept in each end of the town half a year in suitable rooms provided in private dwellings." The schools of North Brookfield were kept in dwelling houses. "The unfinished room was used by the dames in summer, and the capacious kitchen, well warmed, was used by the masters in winter." Sutton, New Hampshire, in 1732, voted "to keep

the school at Esquire Dudley's." He was the schoolmaster at that time. The next year Lunenburg had a similar condition, when it was voted "that the school shall be kept at the house of Mr. Gardner," who was elected schoolmaster.

In 1736 certain houses for the schools were named with the proviso that if they could not be obtained, "then such other place as near to the meeting house as may be." The early schools at Weymouth were kept in the schoolmaster's house. Reverend Isaac Braman, born in Norton in 1770, says: "The schools generally were kept in private houses. I once went to school in a carpenter's shop in which the work bench was used for a table." Up to 1780 Milford used dwelling houses. One ancient domicile is thus described: "The school room was a rude concern, fitted up with plank seats on blocks and writing counters supported by empty barrels, with every thing else to match." This was in 1763 or 1765. A later school was kept in another house where the accommodations were poorer and ruder than before: "The house was small, low and cramped, all its doors hung on wooden hinges. Some fifteen scholars had scanty room and the family was squeezed into the closest quarters."

When the town allowed the school to be moved into the different sections a part of the agreement usually was that the districts should furnish the schoolrooms. Necessarily these rooms were rented in convenient houses at the expense of the districts, not of the towns as a whole, or else the schoolmasters furnished the rooms. At Medfield, in 1721, the schoolmasters in the north and south parts kept school in their own houses. The first schoolmaster at New Mills, the east part of Danvers, "kept his school in the house of farmer Porter." The accommodations were very poor. It is reported that "the benches for writing were nothing more than a board placed upon two flour barrels." Manchester, in 1738, voted that the school should be kept in four quarters, "they in each part to provide a suitable house for

the schoolmaster to keep a school in on their charge." In 1762 the Westminster schools were kept in four houses. With reference to one of them it was voted, "The school shall be kept at Deacon Holden's house in case the house can be obtained." In 1786 Dunstable had several schools: "One school was held at the house of Mr. Ebenezer French, . . . the town paying him £1–14s. for its use. Another school was kept in the house of Mr. Thomas Fletcher, in the northwesterly section of the town, and for the rent of a room for the same he received the sum of 8s. from the public treasury." The school in Sanbornton, New Hampshire, "was kept in a private house near the old meetinghouse in 1775; afterwards in barns and for some years in the meetinghouse before it was seated." Braintree used houses in the sparsely settled portions of the town. "In 1746 the house of Deacon Penniman was hired for that purpose. . . . In 1756 Widow Abigail Thayer was paid 50¢ for to make good the damage done to her windows in the time when a school was kept at her house." In 1763 "a part of the house of Elder Peter was hired to keep a school in, for which he was paid $1.67 by the town."

The cost of these rented rooms was small and did not vary much from generation to generation. Raymond, New Hampshire, paid five shillings for the use of one in 1769, and in 1792 the general rate in New Hampshire varied from sixteen shillings to eighteen shillings. Glastonbury, Connecticut, in 1739, paid fifteen shillings for the use of a house, and the next year one pound. At Marlboro, New Hampshire, in 1800, the school of the east squadron "was kept at the house of Timothy Bemis." He received four shillings per week for the use of the house. This price being considered too dear, the following year the scholars were kept at the house of Luke Newton, who charged but thirty-three cents per week. The Reverend G. F. Clark, speaking of his early school experience at Dublin, New Hampshire,

said: "On the extreme borders of the town, near where there is now a flourishing village, in an old dilapidated dwelling house, with rough slabs taken from my grandfather's sawmill for seats, and these upheld by sticks driven into large auger holes, with nothing to support the feeble backs of the feeble-minded boys and girls that sat thereon, I first made my bow to the schoolmarm." At Temple, New Hampshire, school was kept in one district for ten weeks in the winter in the kitchen of a private house, at a rent of three dollars for the term. Many of the towns then at the borders of civilization had "watch houses," which were frequently found convenient for school purposes. It was voted at Newbury, in 1676, "And if the number be about twenty scholars he is to teach them at the watch house"; there were seventeen. In 1680 the schoolmaster was still keeping school in the watch house.

In 1678, the year before the schoolhouse was built, Springfield "voted and agreed that the watch house to the new meetinghouse should be or serve instead of a schoolhouse, until such time as the town shall see cause to order otherwise." Ipswich, in 1714, voted "to have a children's school in the watch house." Five years later the same place was used "to teach reading, writing and cyphering."

Other buildings were used at odd times and places according to the convenience of the towns, sometimes because no schoolhouse had been erected, and sometimes because it was so out of repair that it was uninhabitable. In Salem, in 1655, the school "was kept in the town house." The next year a committee was "empowered to have the schoolhouse repaired," and two years later two pounds was voted "to Edward Norris so that he may have a chimney built in his schoolhouse." In 1734 it was voted "that the school be kept the ensuing year in the schoolhouse or in the town house, which the schoolmaster should think best." In 1755 it was again voted that the selectmen "have liberty to part

off a convenient part of the town house and build a chimney in it, so that the town be at no cost for the same, but at the cost of private persons, and be for the use of the school." In 1776, after a new town house was built, "one of the town schools was long kept in this town house." In 1724, in Ipswich, a schoolmaster was "allowed to have a room in the almshouse to instruct youth in reading and writing," and a few years later, "Henry Spiller is allowed a room in the almshouse for teaching youth to read, write and cypher." This was done because a vote had been passed that no school should be kept in the town house.

For nearly twenty years the schools at Francestown, New Hampshire, were taught in barns in the summer, and no schools were maintained during the winter. Mr. Stiles, speaking of the schools in Temple, about 1782, said: "At this period there was no schoolhouse in the north district, and scarce in town. Schools were then kept in private houses and barns, as they could be permitted. The first I remember was kept in a log shop at Jacob Putnam's." Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1801, voted "that the north district shall have Jonathan Sanborn's barn for a schoolhouse." At Windham, New Hampshire, schools were taught in private houses and "sometimes in barns and shops. The session house that stood near the meetinghouse on the range was used for school purposes." New Boston, New Hampshire, in 1769, "erected a small building near the meetinghouse, known as the session house, which was often used for schools." At Concord, New Hampshire, in 1790, "the building erected in 1775 . . . for a pesthouse was removed into the town street for a schoolhouse."

Boston, in 1790, used Faneuil Hall for school purposes. A request was made that it might be used evenings for preaching, but it was voted "as the opinion of the selectmen that, Faneuil Hall being now occupied for a reading school, the preaching there must be attended with such

inconvenience to masters and scholars as obliges them to decline granting said request."

The session house, which was sometimes used for school purposes, was a small building, usually situated "between the meetinghouse and the town pound," built at private expense, for the accommodation on Sunday noons of those people who could not go home and return in time for the afternoon service. It was placed on town land by vote of the town, and so could be used for public service in time of need. The following is a description of one built in Mendon in 1709: "It consisted of one room with a large hearth in the center, and a square hole in the roof, immediately over the hearth. When the weather required it, a fire of charcoal was kindled upon the hearth in the morning, and the baskets and pails containing the dinners were arranged upon its outer edge. At noon the room would be found warm and comfortable and the occupants, having eaten their frugal meal, returned to the meetinghouse to partake of the spiritual food furnished by the afternoon service."

The early schoolhouses were small, low, poorly built structures of a low cost, in which the materials of the old meetinghouse were often utilized. No better idea of these buildings can be obtained than by reading some of the early contracts. For this purpose several are given in full, selected to show how little time and place affected the New England schoolhouse.

The following records give an account of the first Springfield schoolhouse. "At a town meeting, being a legal meeting, May 7th, 1679, it was voted and concluded, 1st, that there should be an house erected for that noble design and use of learning the youth in those so necessary pieces or parts of learning, videl., reading and writing; and 2ndly, that the house should be twenty and two feet in length and eighteen feet in breadth; and 3rdly, that the selectmen should be appointed or be trusted to agree with any meet

person or persons to frame this said building, and when the town shall have deliberated and determined where to set it, viz., the schoolhouse, the same appointed persons are likewise to finish it or fit it for school use." Later "it was voted and concluded that the schoolhouse shall be set somewhere in the land going to the upper wharf, the selectmen to agree about and determine the particular place." On the second of June the selectmen voted, "It having been formerly at a town meeting propounded to the town that they should set up a schoolhouse for the town, they concluded that such a schoolhouse should be erected, and appointed the selectmen to bargain with any meet person to build such a house for such use; — accordingly they have bargained with Thomas Stebbins, Jr., to get timber for such a building, and frame it, whose length is to be 22 feet and breadth 17 feet and stud 8 feet half; and he, the said Thomas Stebbins is to carry the frame, to place and to nail the clapboards close on both sides and ends, and to lath and shingle the roof, and to make three light spaces on one side and two lights on one end, and to set up a mantle tree and set up a rung chimney and to daub it, and the said Thomas is to have for his work so done £14 paid him by the town, and in case it so prove that the said Thomas have an hard bargain, it is hereby agreed that he shall have 10s. more of the town."

Dedham, in 1693, "agreed with John Baker of Dedham to build one new schoolhouse for the use of the town of Dedham, the length and breadth of the old house, and to put in none of the old timber into the house but such as shall be approved of by the selectmen, and that the said John Baker shall find all the timber, boards, clapboards, shingles, nails, and to board the inside of the house, or to fill the walls, and to make it warm and decent according to a schoolhouse, and to make the windows as extensive as the old schoolhouse was, and find the glass, also sufficient doors and to build one sufficient stone chimney, the top of it being

wrought out of the house with good bricks, and to cover every groundsell with board or clapboard, and to bore every mortis hole in the groundsell through, and to find everything that do belong to outside and the inside whatever, to the finding of the key, and all this work to be done by the last of October ensuing." He was to be paid sixteen pounds ten shillings; twenty shillings in money, the rest in corn. "The old schoolhouse is to remain to be the said John Baker's."

In 1702 Sudbury voted "that the schoolhouse that shall be built by the town shall be set and erected as near the center of the town as may be conveniently set upon the town's land"; also, "that it be twenty feet in length, eighteen feet in breadth, seven feet from the bottom of the sill to the top of the place, a large chimney to be within the house, the house to be a log house made of pine, only the sills to be of white oak, to be covered with board and shingles. Also the chimney to be of stone to the mortling and finished with brick. This was passed into an act and vote." Later it was voted to build two of these of the same dimensions, and twenty pounds was rated to pay for them. In 1711 another house was voted: "The schoolhouse to be 20 feet long, 16 feet wide, 6 feet stud . . .; the sills to be white oak, the outside to be boarded and the boards to be feather edge. The inside to be birch and to be boarded with rough boards, lower and upper floors to be board, and a brick chimney and two glass windows 18 inches square per window, and the roof to be boarded and shingled."

In 1704 Boston "agreed with Mr. John Barnet as followeth, he to build a new schoolhouse of 40 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 11 feet stud, with eight windows below and five in the roof, with wooden casements to the eight windows, to lay the lower floor with sleepers and double boards so far as needful, and the chamber floor with single boards, to board below the plate inside, and inside and out, to clapboard the outside and shingle the roof, to make a place to

hang the bell in, to make a pair of stairs up to the chamber, and from thence a ladder to the bell, to make one door next the street, and a partition cross the house below, and to make three rows of benches for the boys on each side the room, to find all the timber, boards, clapboards, shingles, nails, hinges. In consideration whereof, the said Mr. John Barnet is to be paid £100, and to have the timber, boards and iron work of the old schoolhouse."

In 1712 Malden "voted that the schoolhouse shall be built 20 feet in length, 16 feet wide, 6 feet stud between joints," and thirty-five pounds were appropriated.

"*Contract:* Articles of agreement made and concluded between the selectmen of Malden and William Green of the said town, carpenter, referring to the building of a schoolhouse for the said town of Malden. The dimensions and conditions are as followeth: viz., That the said William Green doth covenant and agree with the said selectmen to build a house to keep school in for the town of Malden; the dimensions are as followeth, viz., twenty feet in length and sixteen feet in breadth, six feet between joints, and build a chimney in said house near seven feet between the jambs, and lay a hearth in said chimney, and cover said house tight with boards, roof and sides, and shingling the roof of said house and to lay the floor, and to make it with crooked beams rising two feet at the least, for the roof four beams and ribbed upon said beams as may be sufficient, and brick the walls to the plates, and make two windows, one on the south and the other on the east, and make the door of plain boards. Said house being studded about three feet asunder, and to find all for said house so far as has been mentioned, and to set it where the town shall agree, and to underpin said house. And the abôvesaid selectmen do promise and agree in behalf of the town of Malden to pay or cause to be paid unto the above said William Green £19 for the above said work, and wherewith all to do the same,

as followeth; £5 and 12 shillings in boards, and the remainder in money as the work shall go forward. And said work to be done forthwith by the 20th of April next. The work is to be completed as the season will allow, which articles and agreements to be performed by both parties in witness, etc."

Marlboro, New Hampshire, in 1807, voted a new schoolhouse. It was put up at auction and bid in for one hundred seventy dollars and the old schoolhouse. This is the contract: "It is to be 26 feet long and 24 feet wide, 9 feet and one half posts, six windows, 24 lights, and each six by eight glass, two rows of gallery seats on three sides of the house, with one small seat in the front, with an alley in the center of the seats. And it is to be arched or crowning overhead, 9 inches; it is to have four feet entry way; the floor to be laid with two inch plank; the walls of the house to be ceiled as high as the bottom of the windows; with a good brick chimney laid in lime, and is to be two feet and one half on the back of the fireplace, and to be plastered overhead and the walls down as low as the bottom of the windows. The entry way is to be ceiled and plastered overhead; the closet on the opposite side of the chimney is to be ceiled and plastered overhead with shelves convenient. The outside of the house to be enclosed with a square roof and well shingled, and the body of the house is to be clapboarded and painted with Spanish brown, and trimmed with white lead paint, and to be underpinned with split stone, and a good doorstone, also window shutters to each window, with a lock and key on the front door. There is to be a writing desk, and the hearth is to be laid with stone."

Shorter descriptions will sufficiently show some of the schoolhouses in the more important towns. In 1682 one was built in Charlestown, "twelve feet square and eight feet stud within joints, with a flattish roof and a turret on it for the bell, and likewise a mantel tree of twelve feet long."

The carpenter's work cost thirteen pounds. The masons were "to build up chimneys and underpin the house and to ceil the walls with clay and brick, and to point the roof with lime." This cost five pounds. Deerfield voted "that a schoolhouse be built upon the town charge in the year 1698, the dimensions of said house to be 21 feet long, 18 feet wide and 7 feet between joints." In 1739 it was "voted that there shall be a schoolhouse built in the spring. That it be built near the old place, the lower floor one foot below the surface of the ground, the upper floor to be made with clay, the dimensions of the house to be sixteen feet the one way, twenty-five feet the other, three windows on the south side, one at each end, two small chimneys on the north side, with iron mantelpieces"; and again in 1760 it was "voted to build a new schoolhouse of the dimensions of 22 feet square, 7 feet stud, to be doubly boarded on the outside, the wall filled in, and light ceiled, and double floored below." In two generations schools of almost the same type were duplicated, and they were reduplicated for the next three.

Londonderry, in 1724, voted "that there shall be a schoolhouse built in this town; the dimensions of said house to be 16 feet long, and 12 feet in the width, said house is to be a log house, 7 foot side wall," and they were to build "two fireplaces in one end as large as the house will allow."

These early schoolhouses were unattractive carpenter's boxes, squares or rectangles, no larger than immediate necessities demanded, from six to nine feet high, a type from which New England is not yet wholly emancipated. To indicate how little change there was in this type I give the dimensions of some. One of the smallest buildings I have found is the one built in Gloucester in 1708, "length 24 feet, width 10 feet, height of stud 6 feet." The total cost was twenty-four pounds fifteen shillings. One of the largest was built in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1772, but

perhaps here the church idea prevailed over the school. It was "voted to build a house thirty by twenty feet, . . . for public use, to be improved as a schoolhouse and for religious worship." Northampton, in 1755, also built a singularly large schoolhouse. For five years the town had been trying to build a new schoolhouse in the center of the town; it had been voted and rescinded. Finally a committee recommended that one be built "large enough to accommodate the grammar-school and the writing and reading scholars in all seasons of the year," and one of brick was built thirty-six feet by eighteen feet.

Twenty-five feet by twenty feet seems to have been a rather common size, and a building of these dimensions was considered large enough to hold sixty pupils.

These schoolhouses were badly neglected, and as they were generally built carelessly and in haste they were soon in need of repairs. The voters by no means relished paying out money for such purposes. Often several years were consumed in getting a schoolhouse built after the town had authorized its erection, and repairs were made with equal slowness. The records are full of complaints from the masters, the most vigorous of which, perhaps, is that of Thomas Bernard of the Roxbury school in 1681. "Of inconveniencies I shall instance no other than that of the schoolhouse, the confused and shattered and nasty posture that it is in, not fitting for to reside in; the glass broken, and thereupon very raw and cold; the floor very much broken and torn up to kindle fires; the hearth spoiled; the seats, some burnt and others out of kilter, so that one had as well nigh as good keep school in a hog-sty as in it."

The location of the schoolhouse also gave rise to interminable wranglings. The "outskirts" objected to having the "center" monopolize the school, while the people living near the "center" were full of projects for getting it placed near their own dwellings. The question was sometimes

settled by voting to locate it in the geographical center of the town or district. Occasionally this method had queer results. In a rather recent case this geographical center was found to be in a frog pond. Sometimes, when land could not be purchased reasonably, the schoolhouse was placed partially, or even wholly, in the highway, as in Longmeadow in 1791 and in Hartford in 1798.

Burton's "The District School as it was" contains a vivid picture of the quarrels of the good old times, quarrels repeated at the present time when a new school building is proposed. "The old school house stood on the top of a very high hill, on the north side of what was called the County Road. The house of Capt. Clark, about ten rods off, was the only human dwelling within a quarter of a mile. The reason why this seminary of letters was perched so high in the air, and so far from the homes of those who resorted to it, was this; here was the center of the district, as near as surveyor's chain could designate. The people east would not permit the building to be carried one rod further west, and those of the opposite quarter were as obstinate on their side. So here it was placed, and this continued to be literally the 'hill of science' to generation after generation of learners for fifty years."

After this long service it became necessary to build another, and the quarrel became acute. "At every meeting on school affairs that has been held for several years the question of a new schoolhouse has been discussed. All agree on the urgent need of one, and all are willing to contribute their portion of the wherewith; but when they attempt to decide on its location, then their harmonious action is at an end. All know that this high bleak hill, the coldest spot within a mile, is not the place. It would be stupid folly to put it there. At the foot of the hill on either side is as snug and pleasant a spot as need be. But the East-enders will not permit its location on the opposite side,

and the West-enders are as obstinate on their part. Each division declares that it will secede and form a separate district should it be carried farther off, although in this case they must put up with much cheaper teachers, or much less schooling, or submit to twice the taxes."

It was finally discovered that by building a short piece of new road around the hill the schoolhouse could be put in a pleasant spot and still be equidistant from the two sections. There it was placed, and peace was restored. Unfortunately this simple method is not always available.

X

HEATING AND THE SCHOOL WOOD TAX

In these days of state inspection to see that all schoolhouses are properly heated and ventilated, it is interesting to note how the olden schoolhouse was *heated* — there was no question as to ventilation. Like the dwellings, the schoolhouses were warmed by huge fireplaces, sometimes one, sometimes two. For one hundred years this was the only means of heating in any place, and the only means in most places for one hundred fifty years. The earliest note of anything different is found in a Boston record of 1735 when "Mr. Sarell lodged with the town clerk Mr. Treasurer Wadsworth's receipt for £8, for an old stove lately belonging to Mr. Proctor's school, which was sold." In 1742 Mr. Lovell, master of the South Grammar School, informed the selectmen "that the stove belonging to the school wants repairing," and in 1765 it was agreed to buy him a new one. In 1778 Brookline voted "that the town will purchase an iron stove for the grammar schoolhouse to lessen the expense of fuel." As will be seen later this was about the time when towns began to furnish fuel at their own expense. The enormous cost of fireplaces, added to the fact that the Franklin stove had been on the market for a generation, compelled the fireplace to give way to more economical ways of heating. In 1791 Medford voted "to purchase a Franklin or Rittenhouse stove for the schoolhouse, and the committee that provides a schoolmaster and wood be desired to procure it." Northampton bought two stoves for the center schoolhouse in 1796. Reading put a stove into the schoolhouse in 1793, and Newton, in 1796, voted "that five stoves be provided to warm the schoolhouse."

Hingham recorded several votes relative to heating. In 1799 it was voted "to have one stove in one of the schoolhouses and the selectmen procure it"; in 1800 it was voted "that the article which respects procuring stoves for the schools be left to the judgment of the school committee"; and in 1806 it was voted "that the selectmen and school committee be a committee to look into the expediency of removing the stoves in the schoolhouses and report at April meeting." This committee recommended "the use of dry, hard wood and the use of an iron dish of water on the stoves, and would further recommend to the instructors to pay attention to their fires in stoves and see they are not kindled too early in the morning, and admit of fresh air from the upper sashes of the windows." Evidently stoves in the schoolhouses produced the same complaints that were made when they were introduced into meetinghouses — that they burned up the air and people could not breathe. It is related that when the stove replaced the fireplace in the school at Woodstock, the master built a frame about it to keep the children from getting burnt. How it compared with the comforts of the fireplace may be inferred from this account, given by the Reverend Warren Burton in an account of his school days: "I had trials by fire in addition. Every cold afternoon, the old fire-place, wide and deep, was kept a roaring furnace of flame, for the benefit of blue noses, chattering jaws, and aching toes, in the more distant regions. The end of my seat, just opposite the chimney, was oozy with melted pitch, and sometimes almost smoked with combustion. Judge, then, of what living flesh had to bear. It was a toil to exist."

In 1800 Worcester built eight new schoolhouses and put in stoves at eleven dollars and sixty-seven cents each. In some places the brick stove intervened between the fireplace and the iron stove. This was true of Salisbury in 1801, and it was also true of Temple, New Hampshire, in 1812, when it was voted to build a stove in the schoolhouse. This was

bid in by John Patten, "to be done in a workmanlike manner" for six dollars and fifty cents. Probably this was of the Russian type. The same year Medford enlarged the old brick schoolhouse and voted "to build a Russian stove so as to accommodate both rooms."

The Up Neck district of Hartford, in 1813, appointed a committee "to enquire and report to an adjourned meeting the expenses of a stove and chimney as proposed by them at the meeting." Later it was voted "that there be a chimney built to receive the stove pipe; that there be a Franklin stove and pipe erected in the said schoolhouse this ensuing fall." The stove was not bought until 1815 and cost thirty-six dollars and forty-two cents. In 1832 it was again voted "that the committee exchange the now present stove at the schoolhouse and get a box stove that is suitable for a schoolhouse."

Fires and all janitor service were attended to by the schoolmaster or the boys. It is related that at Torrington, Connecticut, "when school was out at night the boys were required to bring in snow and make a snow bank around each fireplace so that the fire should not roll out on the floor and set the house on fire." This was in 1790. In 1796 the following recommendation was made at Northampton: "That the present and all future selectmen make it an indispensable condition with the preceptors who are or may be improved in the several schools that they shall every night see that the fires in their respective schools be wholly extinguished, and that no preceptor be improved who will not so engage so to do, and practise, and that in default thereof they be dismissed, and that each school be furnished with a pail," and the selectmen were authorized to "contract with some person living near the center schoolhouse and a person living near the schoolhouse in Lickingwater, whose duty it shall be to take care of the buildings and see that the preceptors obey the orders of the town respecting fires."

Edward Everett gave this description of the Boston Latin School in 1805: "It contained but one room, heated in the winter by an iron stove, which sent up a funnel into a curious brick chimney built down from the roof into the middle of the room to within seven or eight feet from the floor, being like Mahomet's coffin, held in the air to the roof, I hardly know how, perhaps by bars of iron. The boys had to take their turns in winter in coming early to the schoolhouse, to open it, to make a fire, sometimes of wet logs and a very inadequate supply of other combustibles, if such they might be called; to sweep out the room and, if need be, to shovel a path through the snow to the street."

Fireplaces and stoves alike consumed enormous quantities of wood, the only fuel of those days, and this wood was very generally levied as a separate tax on the parents of the children who attended the school. Like the country boy in Ireland who in winter must furnish every Monday morning his sod of turf for the schoolhouse fire or suffer the consequences, these children of the olden times paid penalties for a short supply of fuel. Town records show that while there were some variations the general statement holds good — that for one hundred fifty years fuel was not furnished by the towns and that some form of punishment was inflicted, not on the parents but on the children, for any neglect to keep the fire burning.

For the grammar school in Roxbury, in 1679, "it is ordered that parents, masters and guardians for the several children coming to the school, whether inhabitants or strangers, shall in the month of October or November, pay to the schoolmaster four shillings per child coming to school, or bring half a cord of good merchantable wood, except such as for poverty or otherwise, shall be acquitted by the feoffees." In 1735 it was "eight shillings or two feet of good wood, and in case they do neither, the master is hereby ordered to suffer no such children to have the benefit of the fire." Poor

children were still excepted. The assessments for "fire money" were in force even as late as 1805, and neglect was punished by the masters' being requested "not to instruct such children." One of the earliest school committees was at Deerfield in 1700; it was their duty to hire the schoolmaster, repair the schoolhouse, and "to proportion the providing of firewood to the scholars." In 1722 schooling was free in this town, "the scholars being only required to furnish firewood." In 1771 "it was provided that each scholar should furnish one load of wood, and in default thereof to be turned out of school."

At Braintree, in 1679, it was agreed "that every child should carry in to the schoolmaster half a cord of wood besides the quarter money every year." In 1713 it was reduced to three feet. There are indications that this wood tax was not cheerfully paid, for in 1710 it was voted "that Mr. Adams, the present schoolmaster, be empowered to *demand* a load of wood of each boy that comes to school this winter."

Wood troubles in Northampton are told more in detail. In 1699 it was voted "that all and every scholar bring one load of wood though they go but two months, that is, two months from the beginning of October to the first of April." The fine for neglect to comply with this requirement was four shillings. But this was inoperative, for it is recorded "that many that sent their children to school were negligent in bringing of wood, for want whereof the school ofttimes was omitted." The next year the selectmen "were ordered to prosecute all who were delinquent in furnishing wood." This too failed to solve the difficulty, and in 1706 another attempt was made by framing a by-law "ordering every person who had children at school from the 26th of October to the 26th of April to bring a sufficient load of wood for each pupil during the first week after entering the school, or forfeit six shillings. The selectmen were to name the day when the wood should be delivered, and the fine was

to be paid within six days of the time, or the selectmen were to bring suit against the delinquents." It was found necessary to act again in the matter in 1746, when it was ordered that every parent "sending a boy to school must follow him within ten days with a load of wood or pay a fine of five shillings." In 1793, one year after girls had been admitted to school, the selectmen were "requested to see that the girls provide themselves with wood when at the master's school." At another meeting, the schoolmasters were directed "to order the scholars that go to the new schoolhouse to bring in one quarter of a load of wood each, or 1s. 6d. in money to be used in the purchase of fuel."

A quaint record on the flyleaf of one of Newbury's town books shows the workings of this method of supplying wood. It was written in 1711 by Mr. Richard Brown, an ex-schoolmaster and ex-townclerk. It is a complaint of his treatment by the town, of which this is a part: "If to find a house for the school two years when the town had none, if to take the scholars to my own fire when there was no wood at school, as frequently, deserves acknowledgments, then it is my due, but hard to come by."

In the selectmen's record of 1670 at Watertown is found a complaint made by Mr. Richard Norcross, schoolmaster, "that the schooling of children is like to be hindered for want of wood to keep a fire," and the record goes on to state, "For the preventing of such an inconvenience, the school being the town's, it is ordered by the selectmen, therefore, that the inhabitants that send their children to the school shall send in for every scholar a quarter of a cord of wood by the 15th day of this instant December, or two shillings in money to buy wood withal." In 1671 this penalty was added: "Or else they shall have no benefit of the school, as a free school, till the first of April, next." In 1700 parents were required "to send one quarter of a cord of wood in the winter."

In 1661 Hartford voted "each scholar that comes to school is either to send a load of wood within a month after Michaelmas or else it is conceded they shall pay 3s. for the procuring the wood." Later the record reads: "Whereas some people have neglected to send wood to the school for their children, voted that every person who shall send their children or servants to the said school, shall, from the first day of November to the last day of March, be obliged to carry one load of wood for each child to the schoolhouse within one fortnight after their children or servants shall go to school, within the said town. Any person neglecting or refusing to carry wood as aforesaid shall pay the sum of 5s., money, for each child, to the committee of the said school, for the use and benefit of the said school, to be recovered by execution from any one assistant or Justice of Peace." Springfield, in 1706, required a load of wood to be sent to the schoolhouse for each child taught.

In 1708 it was "voted and ordered that whatsoever persons shall send children to school in the wintertime, that they provide for each scholar one load of wood by that time the scholar or child has been at school two weeks, or that such persons as neglect to bring their load of wood as aforesaid, shall pay to the town rate so much as shall satisfy any other person or persons that shall bring to the school a load of wood for their scholar or scholars, and the selectmen manage this affair from time to time yearly." In 1717 it was voted "that every person that doth send any scholar to school from the fifteenth of October to the last of March and neglects to send a load of wood within eight or ten days after such scholar is sent, that then there shall be four shillings added to such person's town rate, and it was also voted that said vote be presented to Sessions for confirmation." Five years later it was again voted "that every one that sendeth scholars to school shall bring a load of wood for each scholar that they shall send, and that the wood shall

be brought to the schoolhouse by the middle of October, and that no scholar shall have any benefit of the wood but only those that have a right to, or part of the wood, until they bring their proportion with the rest, and that the selectmen give instructions unto the schoolmasters so to do; this vote to respect all the schools respectively."

At New Milford, Connecticut, it was agreed "that the scholars shall find themselves wood by an equal proportion." In 1702 the Rowley schoolmaster received twenty pounds and found the wood. In 1716 he received sixteen pounds "and found no wood." In 1737 Mendon parents sent wood when they sent the children. Wallingford, in 1720, voted "that every scholar that enters the school between the 20th of September and the last of April shall each bring half a load of wood and if they fail, then they shall pay a fine of 6d, to be looked out for by the committee." Marlboro, New Hampshire, in 1797, voted "that those people that send children to school shall procure wood to supply the school." The general custom prevailed that "every man should bring two feet of wood for each scholar that he sent to school," and that "every man should chop his own wood that he brings to the schoolhouse."

As late as 1825 the Hartford Up-Neck district passed this vote, "That each scholar furnish ten feet of seasoned hard wood, or green walnut, or white ash, to be inspected by the master." In 1829 it was eleven feet of wood or "40¢ in money," and it was required "that each scholar deliver his wood or money when they commence the school."

Penalties accompanied the wood tax in many places. There was some variation, but the general tendency always was to deprive the children of their schooling.

In Beverly, in 1749, "any person refusing to pay for his proportion of fuel was to be punished by his children or servants being denied the privilege of warming themselves by the schoolhouse fire."

An old man, formerly a resident of Oxford, wrote to a friend, "I should like to see those old hills again, especially old Camp hill, for close by there I attended school five or six months and was sent home because I had no wood to warm by."

The Cambridge town meeting of 1748 voted "that the grammar schoolmaster in this town be desired and is hereby empowered to make a tax on every school boy not exceeding six shillings, old tenor, from time to time, as there shall be occasion to purchase wood for the use of said grammar school." Delinquents were excluded from school. Guilford, Connecticut, in 1685, "ordered that whosoever shall not bring a sufficient load of wood to the schoolhouse within two weeks after their child or children begin to go to school, shall pay for their neglect therein, three shillings for every load."

Dorchester, in 1645, established certain rules for the school wardens, of which this was the sixth: "The said wardens shall take care that every year at or before the end of the 9th month, there be brought to the schoolhouse twelve sufficient cart or wain loads of wood for fuel, to be for the use of the schoolmaster and the scholars in winter, the cost and charge of which said wood to be borne by the scholars for the time being, who shall be taxed for that purpose at the discretion of the said wardens." That this tax was not complied with is shown by this part of an agreement made with Mr. Isaac Wiswall: "And also provided the schoolhouse, from time to time, be kept in good order and comfortable for a man to abide in both in summer and in winter, by providing fire seasonably, so that it may neither be prejudicial to master nor scholar." In 1668 another attempt was made to regulate the tax, for at a selectmen's meeting it was ordered "in respect of the school, that those that send their children to school shall the winter time bring for each child a load of wood or half a cord of cord wood, and those that bring it in log wood are to cut it after it comes to the schoolhouse,

and for those boys that go but part of the winter, we leave it to the master's discretion to appoint the proportion for such." In 1694 the quantity had been changed so that each child must provide "two feet of wood or two shillings and six pence money, to be delivered to the schoolmaster within one month after the 29th of September, annually, or the child to have no privilege of the fire." Similar rules were passed for the next forty years.

Cohasset, in 1770, voted "that every child that cometh to the reading and writing school till wood is wanted shall bring to said school a foot of wood or one shilling and six pence in money to the schoolmaster to purchase wood; and that the schoolmaster take a list of the names of those children that come to school as aforesaid, and return their names and to whom they belong to the assessors that shall be chosen the next March meeting, and the assessors, when they make the district rate, add to the said rate what those persons are behind towards wood, and for want of wood, the committee draw money out of the treasury to purchase it."

As is indicated in some of the above votes, there was a choice of wood *or* money. This was a quite general provision, as may be judged from the following records.

Milton recorded in 1768: "School wood to be found in the following manner; each scholar at his or her entering, one foot of wood or one shilling and four pence lawful money, in cash, between the first of November and the last of April."

In Bristol, in 1729, "the schoolmaster was instructed to receive from each scholar four shillings in money or its value in fire wood."

Salem, in 1713, directed every "scholar that goes in the winter to find three feet of wood, or to pay their masters four shillings six pence in money, to purchase wood withal."

In Boston the wood tax became one of the master's perquisites. In 1741 Mr. John Proctor, master of the North

Writing School, was called before the selectmen on a complaint of "insisting on large demands for firing and entry money." He replied that "he had not more than five shillings apiece, one with another, some paying and some not paying." Being asked if he would allow his ushers "having some part with him in his perquisites, especially that of fire wood, he utterly refused it." This led to a vote ten years later "that the selectmen for the time being give directions to the said masters, what money they may receive from the scholars, for defraying the expense of firing"; and when two years later Samuel Holbrook was appointed master of the school in Queen Street, with salary and perquisites, the fire money was excepted. The ultimate result was that wood was soon furnished by the town. In 1789 each school was allowed from two to eight cords, and the next year all schools received seven cords each, except one which received four cords.

All school conditions in the colonies changed very slowly; the wood tax was no exception. There is an early record in Dedham which may be interpreted to mean that the experiment of supplying firewood was tried. In 1661, after voting the schoolmaster his usual salary, this was added: "Moreover that wood for the fire be laid in at the schoolhouse, a hatchet and bellows." In the light of future votes, however, it seems fair to assume that this wood, though supplied by the town, was taxed in some way on the pupils. In 1674 when it was announced that a schoolmaster had been appointed, notice was also given "to bring in wood." It was not furnished by the town regularly until 1758. Dorchester provided its school with wood at public expense in 1732. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1737, voted "that the selectmen provide wood for the school at the bank, at the town's expense." Duxbury, in 1765, voted "to give Major Arnold £2–13 for to find and provide the town school with fire wood for the year ensuing." Newton voted, in

1763, "to have four districts and four schools and all provided with wood." Medford, in 1776, voted "to purchase wood for the use of the school at the expense of the town." In 1749 Chelsea voted "to supply the school with half a cord of cut wood." Many similar votes follow, indicating that the town always found wood for the schools. It was one of the earliest towns to do this.

In the town warrant for Weston, in 1759, is this article: "To know the minds of the town whether they will provide the wood for the schools at a rate for the future." Voted "in the negative." No change was made until 1777, when a petition was presented to see "if the town will provide wood for the schools by a rate, and if so, grant money therefor." This time the petition was granted and twenty pounds was voted with which to purchase wood.

Sudbury, in 1774, had an article in the warrant, "to see if it will order that the several schoolhouses in said town shall be supplied with wood for the future at the charge of the town, agreeable to the petition of Jacob Reed and others." The record says, "Passed in the negative"; but the petition was repeated the next year, and the town voted eight pounds for wood. The same sum was granted for several years in succession.

In Hingham it was not until 1791 that "wood was provided for by general tax. Up to this time, each scholar had been required to furnish his share of firewood." In 1792 Quincy voted "that the school be supplied with wood."

During the days of the moving school, people in the outer districts were obliged to furnish room as well as wood. Hardwick, in 1785, voted to have the grammar school in four parts of the town, "on condition of their finding a suitable room and firewood for said school free of cost from the town." Bedford at about the same period compelled the people in the districts to furnish house and wood free of expense to the town at large. They made this additional

provision, that children could follow the school from one quarter to another by providing their share of the firewood. Brookline, in 1747, allowed two men living outside the town to send their children to the Brookline school, "they providing their proportion of wood."

To induce children living out of the center to come in to the central school, Lexington at one time provided "that all who lived within a certain distance of the schoolhouse on the Common should furnish all the fuel necessary for the school, free of expense, while those who lived more remote should be exempt altogether."

There are some curious votes on the wood question which cannot be grouped under any general topic. In Rowley, in 1702, the schoolmaster "received from the town £20 and was to find the wood." The same terms were made for several years. At Wallingford, Connecticut, in 1680, Elijah Preston agreed to teach the children for ten pounds, "he to find his room and the scholars' wood." In some New Hampshire towns the wood was put up at auction and struck off to the lowest bidder. At Industry, Maine, in 1808, "wood was furnished by private subscription." At Bath the teacher boarded round, and "wood was furnished by the several families while they boarded the master." Glastonbury, Connecticut, perhaps furnishes as interesting a series of votes as any town. In 1717 the record reads: "All boys between 6 and 11, except those living beyond a certain distance, to pay whether they go to school or not, and one load of wood to be carried for a scholar, or three shillings to be paid"; in 1723, "wood to be furnished by committee and paid for by scholars"; in 1733, "load of wood to be brought for each scholar"; in 1753, "wood levied on children's heads"; in 1765, "heads of scholars to find firewood"; in 1766, "wood to be laid on children's polls"; in 1773, "wood to be got by the heads that go to school"; in 1775, "wood to be laid on the heads of the children in each district."

Altogether, the struggle to supply the necessary fuel so that it should be a tax on those people having children or on those children who actually attended school during the winter months, extending as it does over nearly five generations, and embracing a commodity which certainly could not be cornered, presents a very interesting problem in colonial economy.

XI

THE EARLY EDUCATION OF GIRLS

To what extent girls were admitted to the early schools is a somewhat debatable question. Facts are meager on which to base conclusions, and those that are available are conflicting. Laws and town votes are indefinite; or where votes seem definite, results under the votes are not recorded. Judd, in his history of Hadley, says: "The laws of the colony and the votes of the towns relating to schools used the word *children* and did not exclude females, yet it is abundantly evident that girls did not ordinarily continue to attend the town schools many years in the old towns."

The earliest record in which girls are mentioned is that of the school in Dorchester when it was begun in 1639. It was then left "to the discretion of the elders and the seven men whether maids shall be taught with the boys or not." History shows adverse action. About 1670 the selectmen bound out a child twenty weeks old. A part of the agreement reads: "Also when it shall be capable, to teach or cause it to be taught profitably the English tongue, and also to teach and instruct her in the principles of Christian religion, and in such housewifely employment of spinning and knitting as she may be capable of to learn." The whole tenor of this agreement points towards family teaching or the dame school, certainly not to a town school.

The second record is that of Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1649, when in its agreement with the schoolmaster, John Legat, the town stipulated that he should "teach the children of or belonging to the town, both male and female,

which are capable of learning, to write and read and cast accounts." But there is nothing in the later records to show that this agreement was carried out.

Watertown, in 1650, agreed with Richard Norcross: "As also if any of the said town have any maiden that have a desire to learn to write, that the said Richard should attend them for the learning of them; as also that he teach such as desire to cast accounts." In 1670 two men were appointed "to speak with William Knox about the education of his daughter, and to make return how they find it as to her education." This daughter seems to have been in the family of one Thomas Smith. Summoned before the selectmen he "did acknowledge that the child had not been so well attended in the matter of learning as she should have been; did promise that he would be more careful for the time to come, that she should be learned in the knowledge of reading the English tongue." There is nothing in either of these circumstances to show that Watertown admitted girls to its public school. The first was an arrangement for private instruction for the rare ambitious maiden; in the second instruction was easily obtained at the dame school.

Dedham, in 1652, proposed to establish a school for seven years, to be supported by "all such inhabitants in our town as have male children or servants betwixt the age of four and fourteen years." Among other propositions to be submitted to the town was this: "Whether the town require that girls should be taught in this school or not." There is no recorded answer.

Deerfield, in 1698, agreed to have a school, and then voted "that all heads of families that have children, whether male or female, between the ages of six and ten years, shall pay by the poll to said school, whether they send such children or not"; and in 1703 the town voted "that all children, that is to say, boys from four to eight and girls from four to six years old, that live in the town plat, shall pay

their proportion of £10 for the year ensuing, whether they go to school or not." There is no other record for seventeen years as the town was in hard straits financially.

In Rehoboth, in 1699, the selectmen agreed with Mr. Robert Dickson to keep school six months, "he engaging to do his utmost endeavor to teach *both sexes* of boys and girls to read English and write and cast accounts."

It is claimed that "a few girls were sent to the public schools of Northampton and Hatfield before 1680," but only for a short time. Of Hatfield it is stated that "from 1695 to 1699, none are found upon the lists. In 1700, during the winter term, four girls and forty-two boys were in attendance; in 1709 there were sixteen girls in a class of sixty-four." Of Whately it is claimed "no one remembers the time when girls did not commonly attend school and pursue the same studies as boys."

Farmington, Connecticut, gives something more definite. In 1687 twenty pounds were voted "for the maintenance of a school for the year ensuing, for the instruction of all such children as shall be sent to it, to learn to read and write the English tongue." There seems to have been some question raised, for the next year the town passed this vote: "Whereas the town at a meeting held Dec., 1687, agreed to give £20 as is there expressed, to teach all such as shall be sent, the town declare that *all such* is to be understood only *male* children that are through their horn book." The general practice of most towns probably interpreted the "all such children" in the same manner as was here settled by definite vote. While laws and town votes seem inclusive, the interpretation was exclusive — girls were generally barred out.

The Hopkins Grammar School of New Haven, in 1680, had this rule: "That all girls be excluded as improper and inconsistent with such a grammar school as the law enjoins and is the design of this settlement."

Manchester, in 1724, had a free school "which is for *all sexes* for reading and writing English, and for cyphering, that belong to the town of Manchester." The same year Framingham engaged a schoolmaster, "in case he can comply with their custom, viz., to teach any small children of either sex that may be sent to him."

Meriden, Connecticut, in 1678, voted the schoolmaster a stated sum for the year and "three pence a week for all scholars, male or female, from six to sixteen, as long as they shall go to school." But Norwalk, in 1701, voted "that all children from the age of five years old to the age of twelve shall all pay an equal proportion, excepting the females," and all Hadley votes with reference to the schools in the 1680's, fixing tuition rates, specially mention males. This indicates that girls were not admitted.

The legal idea of the proper education for girls is found in two decisions of the Hartford court. In 1655 it ordered the administrators of Thomas Gridley's estate to "educate the children, learning the sons to read and write, and the daughters to read and sew well"; and in 1656 in interpreting the will of Thomas Thomson relative to the education of his children, it decided "that the sons shall have learning to write plainly and read distinctly in the Bible, and the daughters to read and sew sufficiently for the making of their ordinary linen." These decisions seem to indicate that girls were expected to get their entire education at the dame school or at home, and not at the public school.

Here are a few votes making girls eligible to the public schools, and fewer cases of implied permission; they are all the gleanings from the records of nearly two hundred towns. They show that such education was not general, in fact not seriously considered in any town deliberations. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence to show that girls were not admitted to most schools until well towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Benjamin Mudge of Lynn, in a memorandum, says: "In all my school days, which ended in 1801, I never saw but three females in public schools, and they were there only in the afternoon to learn to write." Girls are not spoken of in Lynn school reports until 1817.

Boston did not consider girls until 1789, when these votes were passed: "That there shall be one writing school at the south part of the town, one at the center, and one at the north part, that in these schools the children of both sexes shall be taught writing and also arithmetic in the various branches of it usually taught in the town schools, including vulgar and decimal fractions.

"That there be one reading school in the south part of the town, one at the center, and one at the north part; that in these schools the children of both sexes be taught to spell, accent, and read both prose and verse, and also be instructed in English grammar and composition."

But the girls were admitted for only half the year, from April to October. They were not allowed in school all the year round until 1828. In 1790 in all the schools there were seven hundred sixty-two boys and five hundred thirty-nine girls. In 1794, speaking of the existing schools, the remark was made, "These are all free schools, supported by the town, and youth of both sexes are admitted at different hours of the day."

Previous to 1789 the girls had been educated at private schools established by permission of the selectmen, of which the following are samples: [1784] "Mr. Caleb Bingham approbated by the selectmen to keep a private school for the instruction of young ladies in the useful branches of reading, writing," &c.

[1786] "Mr. Matthew Simpson, upon his application, is permitted by the selectmen to keep a school in this town for the instruction of youth of both sexes in writing, arithmetic, and mathematics."

A writer gives a good description of this new educational movement:

"The new plan was to institute three new schools to be called reading schools, in which reading, spelling, grammar and perhaps geography should be taught by masters to be appointed; the two old writing schools to be continued and a new one established; and one of the Latin schools to be abolished. As no new rooms were prepared, temporary ones were hired, so that the same pupils attended a writing school in one building one half the day, and a reading school in a different building at a considerable distance and under a different and independent teacher, the other half. Each reading school had its corresponding writing school, and while the boys were in one school, the girls were in the other, alternating forenoon and afternoon, and changing the half day once a month because, Thursday and Saturday afternoons being vacation, this arrangement was necessary to equalize the lessons taught in the separate schools. . . . Even when the town built new schoolhouses, the upper room was devoted to the reading school and the lower to the writing, the masters never changing rooms, and the boys and girls alternating as before."

Medford voted in 1766 that the committee "have power to agree with their schoolmaster to instruct girls two hours in a day after the boys are dismissed." The master was paid a salary for six months, "part of which time he schooled the girls as well as the boys." It was not until 1787 that the town again voted on the question, requesting "that the committee that provides a schoolmaster be desired to see what he will ask to keep the girls one hour in the forenoon and one hour in the afternoon, for four months, and report at the May meeting." Three years later a committee was instructed to inquire "if it be expedient for girls to attend the master's school." The report was favorable, and the next town meeting voted "that girls have liberty to attend the master's

school the three summer months." In 1794 there were the following votes: "That in the future each sex attend school at different hours"; "That the females attend school from the first of May to the first of October." The school day was made eight hours long, "said time to be divided equally between the sexes." In spite of this seeming growth toward the education of the girls, it was not until 1834 that it was voted "that the school committee be directed so to arrange the town schools that the girls may enjoy equal privileges therein with the boys throughout the year."

At Plymouth, in 1793, a committee "was chosen to consider the subject of a female school, and their report in its favor, after a prolonged discussion and violent opposition in town meeting, was adopted. One opponent of the scheme lamented the prospect of this departure from long established methods, declaring that the world would come to a pretty pass, as he termed it, when wives and daughters would look over the shoulders of their husbands and fathers and offer to correct as they wrote such errors in spelling as they might commit." The town appropriated one hundred fifteen pounds, fifteen of which were for the support of the female school. "This female school was kept by the teacher of the grammar school, for six months in the year, one hour in the forenoon and one in the afternoon at the close of the regular daily session." In 1795 a girls' school was established, "to be kept in the summer months at intervals of the town school."

At Hingham, in 1761, it was voted "to build a schoolhouse on their land near the north schoolhouse, to be used for keeping a female school." In 1791 it was voted, "There shall be five female schools for six months." The branches taught were "reading, spelling, writing, and needle work." About 1800 it was decided "that girls of twelve years of age and upwards might attend certain of the male schools in the winter months, and boys under nine might attend certain female schools in the summer months."

Of the Haverhill school regulations for 1790, the eleventh reads: "That from May to September one hour in the forenoon and the same in the afternoon be specially appropriated for the instruction of the young misses or females; that of consequence the common school be dismissed daily for such a period at 11 o'clock in the forenoon and a like hour in the afternoon, to give time for that purpose."

It is claimed that in Gloucester, in 1707, instruction for girls included reading, knitting, and sewing. This was probably not at public expense, for in 1758 the Reverend Jacob Baily, afterwards an Episcopal minister, in a letter to a friend, says: "My school continues to increase and I have already between twenty and thirty misses who come to school, dressed in sacks and ruffles. They make a very pretty appearance. We conclude at evening by singing one of Dr. Watts' hymns, or else his Sapphic ode, and the house is built in such a manner that leaves nothing to be desired in the melody and the order and decency which attends it." This was a select private school for girls, of the kind so common throughout New England at this period. It proves that the town was not doing much for the girls in the town schools. The school report of the town for 1790 makes this recommendation: "And also that the master be directed to begin his school from the first day of April to the last day of September at eight o'clock in the morning and close at six in the afternoon, or eight hours in the twenty-four as shall be thought most convenient, and that two hours, or a proportionable part of the time, be devoted to the instruction of females, . . . as they are a tender and interesting branch of the community, but have been much neglected in the public schools in this town." This was accepted, and the next report, in complimenting the master, says, "Particularly the supernumerary hours he spent in teaching the females was greatly beneficial to this amiable part of the community, greatly pleasing to the parents, and well improved by their

daughters." But the master petitioned the town for extra pay for these extra hours; it was granted reluctantly.

Until 1784 Dorchester did not give much attention to the education of girls, and denied them the same privileges that were allowed the boys. In that year the town voted "that such girls as can read in a Psalter be allowed to go to the grammar school from the first day of June to the first day of October." Before this time the girls had received only that form of education which their parents had considered necessary for them; this was principally learning the Assembly Catechism. "On one afternoon each year, girls were admitted to the public school at the general catechising and they were expected to answer at least two questions. It is said that the master took pains to propound the most difficult questions to the girls, in order that the benefits the boys received from his instruction might be more apparent. There had been what were known as dame schools where the girls were taught reading and spelling, sewing and embroidering, and taught to make samplers; but writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography were branches of learning which were considered entirely unnecessary to the female mind." In 1792 it was voted that "the grammar schools be opened for girls six months in the summer." But later it was decided "to have one grammar school near the meeting house, and that no girls be allowed to go to it." In 1797 the town established four schools for girls, "to be kept during the summer season"; but for the two schools kept during the entire year, girls were to go "at different hours as the selectmen shall determine."

Portsmouth's first school for girls was a private one, as in most towns; it was kept by a Mr. Dearborn. Mrs. William Brewster, one of the pupils, left some recollections of it: "Mr. Dearborn taught the first school in Portsmouth for misses, in a large room in his own dwelling house. The scholars brought the Spectator and the Guardian and such

books as they had until suitable books for reading could be procured from Boston. Mr. Dearborn wanted to get up a class in grammar, but could only prevail upon six scholars to join. Many persons thought it an unnecessary branch for misses to attend to. The grammars were obtained from Boston." The first public day school for girls was established by the town in 1784. "For one hundred and sixty years the town had not regarded the education of females of sufficient public interest to make up any appropriation for public schools for them. Those who were able sent their girls to private teachers; those who were not, gave only home instruction. . . . The place selected for the schoolroom was the large chamber of Mr. Grouard's house and hat store. . . . The house was old, of two stories, and faced the south." Girls from eight years up were admitted. The first teacher was good, and remained a year; the second teacher failed to keep up the interest of the pupils, and the school was soon abandoned. "At the end of six months the school was given up, and so far as we can learn, for the succeeding thirty years until 1815, there was no public provision for any regular school for the education of females, if we except the opportunity offered them in the summer months of attending in the boys' schoolrooms two hours a day, from six to seven in the morning, and from five to six in the afternoon, on four days of the week, to receive instruction from the boys' teachers in reading, writing, and arithmetic."

Marblehead incorporated the Academy in 1792; though there were other schools, this was the only one "where girls were admitted on the same footing as boys." Judge Joseph Story says of this school: "Girls as well as boys went to the same school at the same hours, and were arranged on opposite sides of a large hall on their appropriate forms." He pays tribute to the scholarship of the girls. In 1802 Cambridge had a "school for female children, four months." In 1793 the inhabitants of Salem authorized "the school

committee to provide at the writing schools or elsewhere for the tuition of girls in reading, writing, and cyphering." This was provided at the English schools, and the girls were admitted, "but not as associates and equals of the boys. To them an hour following the morning session and an hour after school at night was given." In 1796 it is stated "that schools for young girls have been opened"; but in 1812 it is recorded that the girls "attended as usual, an hour at noon and another in the afternoon." In Ipswich, "till about 1769, it was an unheard of thing for girls to be instructed here by a master."

The Charlestown committee in 1791 reported: "It is their opinion that females be admitted into the public schools within the Neck for six months in the year, viz., from May to October inclusive. That their hours of instruction be from eleven to one o'clock, and from four to six. That they be admitted at seven years of age or more. That until nine years of age they be taught reading and spelling. That after that age they also be taught writing and arithmetic."

Bristol had a schoolmaster, one Captain Noyes, whose "success was so great, that in 1828, the committee asked him to take the town school and allow the girls to go and share his instruction with the boys." Before this the girls had not been to the public schools. In the Portland school, in 1746, there were some fifty pupils, "embracing girls and boys of the familiar names of that day"; and in 1761 it is said that "at this time and for many years after boys and girls went to the same school."

Up to 1770 Northampton had made no provision for the girls. "Though some of the wealthier citizens educated their daughters in Boston, private schools for girls were kept at the houses of the inhabitants in all sections of the town. The girls within certain limits would gather at one of the farm houses, and the wife or some member of the family was paid for teaching them." In 1770 a log schoolhouse

was built in the Lickingwater district, and the next year there was an article in the town warrant asking that females be allowed to attend this school, but when it came before the meeting no action was taken, because those who were to be benefited by it did not desire it. This was the first attempt on the part of the town to give the girls any share in public education. This question of educating the girls came up again in 1785 but received scant attention; again in 1792, and this time a committee was appointed to take the matter under consideration. Probably there had been more or less discussion during all the intervening years. The committee made this report: "That there should be an additional school kept in Lickingwater, to be opened on the first day of May annually, and to be closed on the last day of October. At which school all the boys in Lickingwater and Welch End, and also all the girls within the same limits above eight and under thirteen years of age, shall be instructed in reading and writing by a master well qualified to teach the same. Provided, however, that no children shall be admitted into said school who have not perfectly learned the letters of the alphabet. That girls in the other parts of the town within the ages aforesaid, shall be instructed in reading and writing at the new schoolhouse. And the selectmen for the time being shall take due care to have the foregoing report carried into execution."

Girls were not admitted every year, even after these votes. In 1799 the town refused to make any appropriation for the support of the girls' schools, and in most years the votes with reference to them were pretty evenly divided. The town as a whole was not convinced of the need of educating the girls. The matter was finally settled in 1802, when a committee reported "that school mistresses should be provided for female children under the age of ten years for five months, from the first of May to the first of October, one mistress to thirty scholars or thereabouts; that a committee

should be appointed by the town to employ such mistresses and apportion the scholars among them; that female children between the ages of ten and fourteen should have liberty to go to the town schools under the direction of the selectmen for three months of the year, to wit, from the first of May to the first of August, for the purpose of being instructed in writing and the higher branches of education." This report was not accepted until the next year.

While the town was busy with its discussion, the private schools for girls flourished. In these schools "not only were the rudiments of education obtained, but also the first elements of needle work. Reading, spelling, and sewing comprised the curriculum, though some of the older scholars were taught to write, but arithmetic was an unknown quantity. . . . In Miss Hill's school Perry's spelling-book was used, as she was not in favor of Webster's. The Psalter and Bible were also in use, and a book of reading lessons, mostly religious. Sewing was one of the most important branches taught in these schools; it is reported that one young girl, about six years old, made a Holland shirt as part of her school work."

The following account of the school days of Mrs. Luther Hunt, born in 1776, is taken from the Judd manuscripts: "When four or five years old, she went to school one summer to Hannah Parsons, daughter of Jacob, at his house; one summer to Rachel Parsons, daughter of Isaac, at his house; after this she went several summers to Prudence Parsons, daughter of Josiah, at his house; Prudence kept school ten or twelve summers, not in winter. She had twenty or thirty scholars who each paid her six pence per week. When Mrs. Hunt went to her they read in the Testament and the smaller ones in the spelling book, and had no other reading books. She does not recollect using a Psalter or Dilworth's. They spelt daily and repeated a portion of the catechism once a day. Much of the time was spent in sewing; that was an important object of the school."

When the girls first went from the dame and private schools to the town schools, they naturally took their knitting and sewing with them, until in some towns direct votes forbidding this practice were passed. Some amusing results are recorded of the practice, of which two are given here. At Hanover, Massachusetts, it is stated that "girls carried their samplers to be wrought and their knitting and sewing. It sometimes taxed the patience of our worthy pedagogues severely to have little misses come up and ask questions about their knitting. Luke Stetson, it is said, told one of his pupils to widen, widen, until she had knit her stocking as wide as a meal bag." The schoolmaster at Sanbornton, New Hampshire, in 1775, produced opposite results: "In one of his first schools, a young girl carried her knitting work into the schoolroom. Being a new beginner, she supposed of course she must ask the master for directions as to her work. She accordingly went to him several times and he directed her every time to narrow. This process soon brought the matter to a point, and when the unsuspecting girl asked for further instructions, the master advised her to apply to her mother."

Private schools for girls were very commonly advertised. Two samples will suffice: at Salem, in 1782, "Mr. Bartlett states that he shall instruct young ladies in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, composition, and history"; and in 1783 "Nathan Reed has commenced a school near the town house for young ladies, for reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, elocution, composition, and geography."

It was not an uncommon thing to find the schoolmasters advertising their early morning schools. In 1773 one of the Salem schoolmasters advertised "to commence a school for young ladies, beginning at the hours of eleven and five, o'clock, where they will learn to write and cypher"; while in 1796 "Mr. Jackson notifies that he shall have a morning school from six to eight o'clock for young ladies, in the common and higher studies." In Norwich, Connecticut, the

morning hours given to the girls were "from five o'clock to seven A.M." When Nathan Hale kept school at New London, in a letter written to a friend in 1774, he says: "I have kept during the summer a morning school between the hours of five and seven, of about twenty young ladies; for which I have received six shillings a scholar by the quarter."

Family instruction, the dame school, the private schools in the larger towns, and, finally, the separate instruction by the public schoolmasters were the steps leading girls to the public schools. The doors opened slowly, grudgingly; New England conservatism gave way upon this as upon all school questions, reluctantly. It required nearly two hundred years from the founding of the first school to place girls "on equal footing with the boys."

XII

EDUCATIONAL STRAWS

I. Requirements for Admission

In a preceding section allusion has been made to the fact that pupils were not admitted to masters' schools, whether grammar or English, unless they measured up to certain entrance requirements, and that these requirements had to be met generally by the parents at private expense. This was doubtless another of the customs brought from England, for the St. Saviour's Grammar School of Southwark, which John Harvard attended, did not receive boys until they were over seven, and then they must be "able to read English well, to write a legible hand, and be able to enter straightway in Latin accidence."

These entrance requirements extended over a long period of time and did not essentially vary very much. They all aimed at relieving the master from teaching the first rudiments of education and allowing him to expend his time and energy and ability in building the superstructure. These requirements can best be judged from various town and committee actions.

In 1651 the master at New Haven agreed to teach the children "after they are entered and can read in the Testament." In the Connecticut Colony in 1652 "the Governor acquainted the Court that he had heard the schoolmaster is somewhat discouraged because he hath so many English scholars which he must learn to spell, which was never the town's mind, and it was now ordered that the schoolmaster

shall send back such scholars as he sees does not answer the first agreement with him, and the parents of such children were desired not to send them." This was ineffective, for in 1654 "a complaint was made that the schoolmaster is so employed in teaching children sent to him to learn their letters, that others for whom the school was chiefly intended, as Latin scholars, are neglected; Wherefore, two of the townsmen were now sent to send all such children home and desired the schoolmaster not to receive any more such."

At Newbury, in 1653, the schoolmaster was engaged "to teach all such inhabitants' children as shall be sent to him as soon as they know their letters and begin to read." Dorchester, in 1655, in a contract with a schoolmaster, named the scholars he was to teach, "which is to be understood such children as are so far entered already to know their letters and to spell somewhat." In 1684 the New Haven Grammar School would not receive scholars to learn English "but such as have been before taught to spell their letters well and begun to read, thereby to perfect their right spelling and reading." Farmington, Connecticut, in 1688, voted "whereas, the town at a meeting held December, 1687, agreed to give £20, as is there expressed, to teach all such as shall be sent, by vote the town declare that *all* such as shall be sent is to be understood only male children that are through their horn book."

In 1690 the Connecticut records mention free schools "for the teaching of all such children as shall come there after they can first read the Psalter." In 1694 a schoolmaster at Amesbury engaged "to teach all persons that belong to the town that shall attend the school at any time, except such little ones as cannot say their ABC." New London, in 1698, explained that "by reading is intended such children as are in their Psalters," and in the same year Windsor, Connecticut, engaged a schoolmaster "to take none but such as are entered in spelling."

The next century witnessed similar demands. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1701, a schoolmaster agreed to "teach all town children and servants as are able competently to read from their Psalters," and three years later it was decided "to learn them from their primers." There was difficulty in finding schoolmasters to take children so poorly prepared, but one was found who agreed "to teach all children that can read in their Psalters and upwards." In 1712 the master at Charlestown requested that regulations might be made about the town school, and it was voted "that, whereas the school being thronged with so many small reading children that are not able to spell or read as they ought to do, by reason of which Latin scholars, writers and cypherers cannot be duly attended and instructed as they ought to be," two men of the town should be chosen "inspectors and regulators" of the matter. In 1728 the school was crowded, and the town considered the question of employing an assistant to the master, or of building another schoolhouse. The matter was left to a committee, which later reported "that if the school were under a due regulation so that none were admitted into it but such as are fit therefor," this need not be done, and added, "in order to the regulating thereof, we propose that some proper persons be chosen who shall be desired to examine all such children as are offered, at such times as they shall appoint, and that the instructor admit none but such as they approve and that but twice a year."

In 1728 the Roxbury master asked if he should receive scholars "before they can read tolerably well in their Psalters," and the feoffees answered that he "shall not be obliged to receive any children for his instruction until such time as they can spell common easy English words either in the Primer or in the Psalter in some good measure." A similar requirement was in force more than sixty years later, for in 1789 children were required "to read tolerably well by spelling words of four syllables."

Little is said in the Boston records about entrance to the schools, but in 1741, in an investigation of a complaint against some of the masters, it was brought out "that the children of the town who could read in the Psalter had not been refused admittance."

In 1762 no children were to be sent to the Portland schools "unless they could read in the Psalter."

Providence, in 1767, built three small schools and one large one. A special committee was appointed to consider the whole school question. They proposed many changes, among which was the following: "And that each and every scholar before they be admitted into any of the small schools shall have learnt their letters and acquired some acquaintance with spelling, and before they be permitted to enter the larger school they must have gained considerable knowledge in reading and writing, and that all those who may be thus qualified shall and may be admitted to all the advantages of education that may be taught in either of the respective schools."

In 1782 Dr. Lathrop left money for a school in Norwich, with some conditions; among them, "no child to be sent to said school but such as can read in class."

Among the committee rules at Haverhill, in 1790, was this, "None should be admitted into the grammar school but such as could with a degree of readiness read words of two syllables." When the first school for both boys and girls was established in Northampton (in 1792), it was stipulated "that no children shall be admitted into said school who have not perfectly learned the letters of the alphabet." Medford, in 1794, "voted that no children, whether male or female, be admitted into the public school under the age of seven years, nor then unless they have been previously taught to read the English language by spelling the same." Among school regulations at Framingham in 1800 was this, "That it be recommended to the inhabitants not to send any scholar to the writing school but those who can read words of two

syllables by spelling the same." In Dorchester, as late as 1805, there was this rule, "Children are not to be admitted to the schools till they are able to stand up and read words of two syllables and keep their places." Brookline, in 1823, "voted that the vote rejecting young children from men's schools till they read in plain reading be reconsidered, and that hereafter small children be admitted."

These entrance requirements, extending over nearly two hundred years, show how slowly changes were made in school conditions, and indicate why New England conservatism in school affairs is so hard to overcome even now.

II. Religion in the Schools

The modern school is decidedly nonsectarian, nonreligious; the early school was just as decidedly sectarian and religious. The reason for this is very apparent. The early settlers were an intensely religious people; they longed for religious freedom for themselves, though unwilling to accord it to others. Religion was a part of their compact with the Massachusetts Bay Company, with which the ministers agreed "to teach and catechise the Company's servants and their children, as also the savages and their children." In 1641 the General Court requested "that the elders would make a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion." The next year they passed this law: "For as much as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kind, it is ordered . . . also, that all masters of families do once a week, at the least, catechise their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion, and if any be unable to do so much, that then at the least they procure such children and apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism without book, that they may be able to answer unto the questions that shall be propounded to them, out of such catechism,

by their parents or masters or any of the selectmen, when they shall call them to a trial of what they have learned in this kind." The selectmen were authorized to find out the ability of children "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country." Religion governed town control of the family. Religion was the basis of service in the town—in vote, in office, in power. The president of Harvard College and the humblest schoolmaster must give "due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ." Schools were established for good citizenship, but religion was deemed essential for good citizenship. Hence religion was deeply imbedded in the schools and the school curriculum, "for as much as it greatly concerns the welfare of the country that the youth thereof be educated not only in good literature but sound doctrine." At Harvard aid was given to such scholars as were "poor, pious, and learned," but if "no such youths" were present, it could be used otherwise.

In "New England First Fruits" is this oft-quoted sentence: "After God had carried us safe to New England and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." In 1669 the governor and Council of Massachusetts advised the clergymen of all towns "to catechise and instruct all people, especially youth, in the sound principles of Christian religion, and that not only in public but privately from house to house, or at least three, four or more families meeting together, as time and strength may permit, taking to your assistance such godly and grave persons as to you may seem expedient." New Haven schools were established "for the training up of youth, that through the blessing of God they might be fitted for public service in church and

commonwealth"; and in 1656 parents and masters must see "that their children and apprentices should be taught to read the scriptures and other good and profitable books in the English tongue, being their native language, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of the Christian religion necessary to salvation."

The Connecticut records, in 1742, speak of "inferior schools of learning in every town or parish, for the education and instruction of the youth in this colony, which by the blessing of God have been very serviceable to promote useful learning and Christian knowledge, and more especially to train up a learned and orthodox ministry for the supply of our churches."

Under the law requesting selectmen to examine families we find Billerica, in 1661, agreeing "that Lieut. Will French and Ralph Hill, senior, do take care and examine the several families in our town, whether their children and servants are taught in the precepts of religion, in reading and learning their catechism," and again, in 1674, "in reference to the catechising of the youth of the town and examining them concerning their reading, a duty imposed on the selectmen by the honored court, to take care that children and youth be instructed in both; the selectmen do order that all children and youth, single persons from eight years old and upwards, their parents and masters shall send such children and servants to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Whiting at such times as shall be afterward appointed by him, to be examined of both, as hoping this might be a good expedient for the encouragement of all superiors and youth."

At Watertown, in 1670, "it was further agreed that the selectmen should go through the town in their several quarters to make trial whether the children and servants be educated in learning to read the English tongue, and in the knowledge of the capital laws of the country, also that they be educated in some orthodox catechise"; and again, in 1679, it was

"agreed by the selectmen that they would go to and fro through the town and see that all children be taught to read the English tongue and some orthodox catechise; and to take the names of all youths from ten years old unto twenty years old, that they may be publicly catechised by the pastor in the meetinghouse."

At Sudbury, in 1655, persons were "appointed for to take pains for to see into the general families in town, to see whether children and servants are employed in work and educated in the ways of God and in the grounds of religion, according to the order of the General Court."

Dorchester, in 1655, passed this: "Whereas the General Court, out of the religious care of the education of the youth of this Commonwealth in the principles of Christian religion, hath enjoined the selectmen of every town within their several limits to have a vigilant eye to see that men's children and such as are within their charge be catechised in some orthodox catechism in families, so as they may be ready to answer the selectmen as they see time convenient to examine them, we, the selectmen of this town of Dorchester for the time being, in our obedience to authority, and in pursuit of so useful and profitable a work, do hereby will and require all parents, masters and any that have the charge and oversight of any youth within this plantation, that they be diligent to observe this injunction to catechise their children, servants and others within their several charge, in some sound orthodox catechism, that they may be able to render account hereof when they shall be hereunto required, either in the church or privately; as upon advice shall be judged most conducing to the general good of all men. And fail not herein upon such penalty as the Court shall see reason to inflict upon information given against such as shall be found delinquent herein, this 11th of the 12th month, 1655." And in 1656 a memorandum is recorded "that the Grand Jurymen were with us to speak with us about some things that

they thought were liable to be presented, as namely this, that the catechising of children is neglected in our town."

At Cambridge, in 1668, at the selectmen's meeting, various men were appointed in different sections of the town "for catechising the youth of this town." The same thing was done in 1670.

At Concord, in 1680, "it was necessary from time to time to remind the inhabitants of their want of a schoolmaster and their supposed inattention to the catechising of youth." Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1664, "voted and agreed that those that are willing to have their children called forth to be catechised shall give in their names to Mr. Cotton for that end, between this and the second day of next month."

These sufficiently indicate the intensity of the religious ardor; under this stimulus it naturally followed that the catechism flourished. Many towns published editions of their own, as Dorchester, Concord, and towns in Connecticut and New Hampshire. In many cases the towns paid the expense. Mather, speaking of these many editions, says: "These last ages have abounded in labors of this kind; one speaketh of no less than five hundred catechisms extant; which of these is most eligible I shall leave unto others to determine. I suppose there is no particular catechism of which it may be said, it is the best for every family or for every congregation." The Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism in time took the place of nearly all these local ones.

As a result of all these efforts, Neal, in 1700, found "hardly a child of nine or ten years old throughout the whole country but can read and write and say his catechism." Naturally the schools reflected this zeal. It was reflected in two ways—in the direct teaching of the catechism and in the amount of prayer and Bible reading and direct religious instruction that prevailed for so many years and which in Massachusetts caused Horace Mann to write in his twelfth report: "It was not until the tenth day of March, 1827,

that it was made unlawful to use the common schools of the state as the means of proselyting children to the belief in the doctrines of particular sects, whether their parents believed in those doctrines or not."

The whole school atmosphere was imbued with the particular religious beliefs of the times; the minister was essentially the parish priest, and the schools were as much parish schools as any we have to-day. The catechism was taught in all schools until well into the nineteenth century. The demand is found in agreements with schoolmasters, in town votes, and in school-committee regulations. The agreement with the schoolmaster at Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1649, read: "And also to teach and instruct them once in a week or more in some orthodox catechise provided for them by their parents or masters." Among the rules for the schoolmaster at Dorchester was this: "Every sixth day of the week at two of the clock in the afternoon, he shall catechise his scholars in the principles of Christian religion, either in some catechism which the wardens shall provide and present, or in defect thereof, in some other." At Watertown, in 1677, a boy was bound out until he was 21. Among the things in the agreement he was to be taught "some orthodox catechise." A year later the agreement with the schoolmaster read, "And once a week to teach them their catechise." In Woburn a committee on the conduct of the schools reported, "We recommend that the catechism be taught in school once a week, especially the Commandments with their several explanations." At the grammar school at New Haven, in 1684, "two hours in the afternoon of Saturday were to be employed in catechising the scholars." In 1770 "the Assembly's catechism was repeated at the close of every Saturday forenoon school," in Hartford. In Boston, in 1719, among the directions given to the masters of the free writing schools was this, "that the scholars be catechised every Saturday afternoon the form of the Assembly catechism."

At Haverhill, in 1790, among the regulations of the school committee accepted by the town, the grammar school was divided into two classes; the "second class were each to bring one or more answers daily out of such catechisms as shall be directed by their parents or guardians. . . . Saturdays in the forenoon the master was to instruct his scholars in some catechism and address them on moral and religious subjects." Ipswich, in 1792, voted "that in both schools of the town parishes, the catechism of the Assembly of Divines with Dr. Watts' explanatory notes, and the catechism by the same author, be constantly used as much as three or four times a week, according to the different grades of the scholars, until the same are committed to memory." This lasted until 1826.

At Windham, New Hampshire, it is recorded concerning the catechism, about 1780: "It was recited weekly Saturday in the forenoon, but one question was to be answered for each day. Not only the smaller catechism but the larger was learned in the school, no trifling task for the memories, and yet it strengthened them by the required labor. They would lay this book under their pillow at night, and take it as soon as light broke upon them in the morning. Some young scholars committed both the smaller and larger catechisms before twelve years of age. The catechism was neglected by some teachers, but they had the Commandments on Saturday forenoons."

Marlborough, New Hampshire, in 1807, voted "that the schoolmaster teach the scholars the catechism once a week." At Windham, New Hampshire, "The Westminster Catechism was used as a text book, and lessons in it recited every Saturday forenoon." Farmington, Connecticut, in 1815, recorded, "On Saturdays, the master will teach the children the catechism before mentioned; and it is expected that all such as go through a course of ordinary school learning will commit the whole to memory so as to be able promptly to answer

every question therein." The Assembly Catechism was used in Connecticut until 1846.

Clergymen visited the schools and examined pupils in the catechism through all these years. It is said: "Dr. Emmons of Franklin, the noted divine of the last century, it appears, was the last to discontinue this practice in the schools of New England, continuing the same into the early part of the nineteenth century." At Springfield "the Rev. Mr. Howard used to visit the schools Saturday mornings, the time set apart for the catechism, and would hear the little ones 'recite sanctification, justification and election,' and would have in turn a word or two on the evils of insubordination." Where schools were not near, family instruction was maintained. Jeremiah Mason of Lebanon, Connecticut, born in 1768, wrote: "My mother was careful to have us well drilled in the Westminster catechism, which was faithfully committed to memory, and Mr. Stowe, our parish minister, came regularly once a year and examined us."

Other religious instruction was as zealously and authoritatively insisted upon. Among the 1645 Dorchester rules were these: "Every second day in the week he shall call his scholars together between 12 and 1 of the clock, to examine them what they have learned on the Sabbath day preceding, at which time also he shall take notice of any misdemeanor or disorder that any of his scholars shall have committed on the Sabbath; . . . and because all man's endeavors without the blessing of God must needs be fruitless and unsuccessful, therefore it is to be the chief part of the schoolmaster's care to commend his scholars and his labors amongst them unto God by prayer morning and evening, taking care that his scholars do readily attend during the same."

The New Haven grammar-school rules of 1684 had this: "The scholars being called together, the master shall every morning begin his work with a short prayer for a blessing on his labors and their learning. . . . That if any of the school

boys be observed to play, sleep, or behave themselves rudely or irreverently, or be any way disorderly at meeting on the Sabbath days or any other times of public worships of God, upon information or complaint thereof to the due conviction of the offender or offenders, the master shall give them due correction to the degree of the offence; and that all corrections shall be with moderation. . . . That all the Latin scholars, and all other boys of competent age and capacity, give the master an account of one passage or sentence at least of the sermons the foregoing Sabbath, on the second day morning."

Boston, in 1719, gave certain directions to the masters, among which were these: "That morning and evening prayer be attended in the said schools. That a portion of God's word be read by some of the scholars morning and evening by turns." Boston had impressive induction ceremonies, during which instructions were given to the new master: "And that he does not fail causing the children to read a portion of scripture every day, and of instructing them in the catechism once a week." Also he shall "constantly open the school in the morning and close the same in the evening with prayer." In 1710 a committee on visitation was established and instructed, "And at their said visitation one of the ministers by turn to pray with the scholars and entertain them with some instructions of piety specially adapted to their age and education."

In Woburn, about the time of the Revolution, a committee of two clergymen and five prominent men made a report. Among other things it was recommended, "The school to be opened with prayer, which we think decent and becoming creatures dependent on a Creator. We also recommend that the Holy Bible should be read once each day by such classes as are capable of reading the same, and such parts selected at the discretion of the master as may best suit the age and capacity of the children."

According to the Haverhill rules of 1790 the schools were to be "opened in the morning and closed in the evening by the schoolmaster with an act of religion, reading a portion of the Bible every morning, accompanied with an address to God in prayer, and closing every evening with prayer." At Hingham, in 1797, the school committee voted "that the masters and mistresses of the several schools be directed to read a chapter in the Bible every morning to their scholars, and that those of them who are far enough advanced in reading use the Bible as their school book on Saturdays." It is said of a Windham teacher, "It was the practise of Mr. Williams to open the exercises of school in the morning with prayer and no uncommon occurrence to particularize any student whom he thought specially needed Divine assistance." Marlborough, New Hampshire, in 1807, "voted to have the Bible introduced into the schools." At Bedford, in 1819, the masters' schools were required to be opened and closed with prayer, and the record further states, "Which practise also is particularly recommended to the serious consideration of female instructors, who will be permitted to use an approved written form of prayer." At Farmington, Connecticut, as late as 1815 the school authorities adopted these rules: "The masters will select such letters from the Bible for those who read therein as they can best understand, and will frequently explain and inculcate such truths in the course of the reading as lie nearest the level of their capacities, by occasional remarks or a more solemn address, particularly their obligations to honor and obey their parents; to subject to magistrates and all in authority; to revere the ministers of the gospel; to respect the aged and all their superiors; to reverence the Sabbath, the word and worship of God; of their accountability to Him, of their mortality and of the importance of religion, both as a preparation for death and the only means of true peace, comfort and usefulness in the world." An aged and intelligent citizen of Springfield says "he remembers

that the zealous teacher often prayed and exhorted when she should have been hearing their lessons. She would talk to the scholars about the devil, who, she said, went round from house to house with a red-hot pitchfork to carry off naughty children; that death stabbed with a dart or spear, and that hell was a place where the wicked were burned in fire and brimstone."

In addition to all this law and regulation and zeal, reading was almost exclusively from the Psalter, the New Testament, or the Bible as a whole. Until about the time of the Revolution, these were the only reading books. Religion came from absorption as well as instruction. The early books, as the "New England Primer," were full of Bible allusions. The illustrations, such as they were, were fiercely religious and terrifying to the youthful imagination, if youngsters had any in those days. Such rimes as

> In Adam's fall
> We sinned all.
>
> Thy life to mend,
> This book attend.
>
> Young Obadias,
> David and Josias,
> All were pious.
>
> Xerxes, the Great did die,
> And so must you and I,

coupled as they were with pictures of the martyr Rogers surrounded by flames, with a gruesome coffin and other shivery illuminations, must have made strong impressions. The modern child can be thankful that at least his rimes are better and his illustrations more attractive and æsthetic.

XIII

RISE OF ENGLISH SCHOOLS

The number of pupils that were assigned to a single teacher in colonial times shows a most extraordinary variation. In the very earliest times the number was often extremely small, while in the middle of the eighteenth century the number exceeded all reason. Thus in New Haven, in 1660, the schoolmaster reported "that the number of scholars at present was but 18 and they are so inconstant that many times there are but 6 or 8." The report to the county court, made by the town of Cambridge on March 31, 1680, reads: "Our Latin schoolmaster is Mr. Elijah Corlett. His scholars are in number 9 at present. For English our schooldame is Goodwife Healy, at present but 9 scholars. Edward Hall, English schoolmaster, at present but 3 scholars."

Contrast with these the following: At Boston, in 1741, the North Writing School had 280 pupils and two teachers, the master and an usher. Abiah Holbrook at one time conducted a writing school with 220 pupils, and petitioned for an assistant, "as he could not instruct so many." In 1743 "Mr. Hicks informs that he has under his instruction in the North Writing School 160 scholars, which number is more than he can properly attend and prays that he may have an usher allowed him." At Marblehead, in 1767, the trustees reported that about 166 scholars attended each of the three schools. There was one master for each school.

Deacon Hawes, who taught shortly after the Revolution, used to have from sixty to ninety scholars. At Brookline, in 1781, a comparatively reasonable view was taken. "Whereas upwards of fifty children belonging to this town daily attend at school, and a number of others from the adjacent towns have

also been admitted there this season as usual for several years past, whereby the whole number of scholars is become so great that it cannot be expected the schoolmaster can teach them all with probable prospect of advantage to the scholars, therefore voted: that Mr. Isaac Reed, the present schoolmaster, be directed not to permit the children from any adjacent town to come to school while the number of scholars belonging to this town continues so large as to require all his attention to their instruction." A similar vote was passed in 1789.

This great crowding occurred chiefly, it would seem, in the English, or writing, schools. There was a constant endeavor on the part of the people to secure a practical education, that is, reading, writing, and, later on, arithmetic. The leaders, especially the clergy, were desirous that Latin should be kept up, and there was more or less of a struggle between these opposite ideals. Often one schoolmaster taught the pupils both branches, and occasionally he had to be warned not to neglect the simpler studies. Thus, Northampton always had a grammar, or Latin, schoolmaster, but he taught the English branches as well. In June, 1756, the town refused to hire any but a grammar schoolmaster, but the selectmen were ordered to "direct the schoolmaster that he spend no more time with the Latin scholars than their equal proportion with other scholars." Nearly twenty years later, in 1775, "the grammar schoolmaster was again reminded that he must not be partial to his Latin and Greek scholars, by an order not to spend more time on them than on other students." Then, as now, teachers usually preferred the advanced subjects.

Another town that combined the two was Plymouth, which, in 1725, "voted that the grammar school, in which also is to be taught writing, reading and arithmetic as usual, be kept in the middle of the town, near the meetinghouse or court house from the twentieth of April next, for the space of seven years next ensuing."

The following brief references show that the Latin and English schools were combined in the various towns mentioned. At New Haven, in 1651, the master agreed "after they are entered and can read in the Testament to perfect them in English and to teach them their Latin tongue as they are capable, and to write. After consideration the town voted to accept the terms propounded." At Dedham, in 1685, the master was "to teach such children as come to read and write both English and Latin according to his ability and their capacities." At Watertown, in 1687, "he taught Latin, English, and writing." At this latter town a few years previously, in 1679, there was a rather curious division of the time allotted for the different subjects. "In June, July and August he was to teach only Latin and writing at his own house, the other eight months Latin and English scholars at the schoolhouse."

At Salem "the branches of instruction in the Latin school were at first [1677] English, Latin, Greek, good manners and the principles of Christian religion. Later [1699] writing, cyphering and reading are mentioned. Then in 1801 English grammar, composition, and geography are mentioned." Charlestown, in 1679, hired a master "who is to teach Latin, writing, cyphering, and to perfect children in reading English."

Other towns that have records of combined Latin and English schools are Cambridge, 1690 and 1691; New London, 1698; Yarmouth, 1711, "provided he may be obtained" to teach Latin "at the same price"; Salem, 1712; and Hadley, 1743, where Greek was also included. Marblehead, 1781, also included Greek, as did Danbury in 1763. Danbury also added "vulgar arithmetic." More ambitious still was Swansea, which, in 1673, voted "to set up a school for rhetoric, arithmetic, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and at the end of the program it was thoughtfully added, also to read English and to write."

The amount of time that each branch could claim was carefully settled at Providence in 1767. "That not exceeding two hours in each day shall be taken up in the large school in perfecting the scholars in reading, accenting, pronouncing, and properly understanding the English tongue. That the remaining school hours shall be employed in teaching the children and youth in writing, arithmetic, the various branches of mathematics and the learned languages."

When the towns could afford it or the number of pupils was great, the preference was for two distinct schools. Thus, Barnstable, in 1731, "voted that there be two teachers, one of a grammar school, and one of a common school." A committee at Charlestown, in 1750, discussed the question fully. "We, the subscribers, being appointed a committee at the annual meeting on the fifth of March, last, to provide a grammar schoolmaster till the meeting in May, also to consult whether it will not be necessary for the town to have two schoolmasters, one for grammar and the other for writing, have accordingly attended that service and report as follows: That we have agreed with Mr. John Rand to keep the school until May meeting at the rate of 20 shillings per week, and are of the opinion that it will be greatly for the interest of the town to have two schoolmasters, one for teaching Latin, the other for teaching writing and arithmetic, as it is impossible for any one man to teach the children of the town in both capacities, as they have experienced in times past, and the advantages the children reap from a good education are so great as we make no doubt the town will readily fall in with our opinion."

A half century previous in Connecticut, in 1700, the Court of Elections ordered: "That there shall be four grammar schools constantly kept by the four county towns of this colony, viz., Hartford, New Haven, New London and Fairfield, and all other towns consisting of 70 families and upwards shall constantly keep up from year to year a public

and sufficient school for the teaching children to write and read, and that all towns within this colony of any number of families under 70 shall keep up yearly a public school for the teaching to read and write for one half of the year, these schools to be furnished with able and sufficient schoolmasters according to the law."

The following extracts refer to the English schools and will serve to indicate their development. At Plymouth Colony, in 1663, "it was proposed by the court unto the several townships in this jurisdiction as a thing that they ought to take into their serious consideration, that some course may be taken that in every town there may be a schoolmaster set up to train up our children to reading and writing." Action was taken in 1670. In 1668 Medfield employed a schoolmaster "to keep a school for such of the youth as should come to him to learn to read and write." Stratford, Connecticut, in 1678, voted to have a schoolmaster "to teach small children to read and write," and in 1687 Farmington, Connecticut, voted twenty pounds a year for a school "for the instruction of all such children as shall be sent to it, to learn to read and write the English tongue."

At Dover, in 1658, the contract read, "The said master also to have to read, write, cast accounts . . . as the parents shall require." In 1667 Dedham agreed to employ a master "to teach the male children of this town that shall be sent to him in English, writing, grammar, and arithmetic for the space of one whole year." Northampton, in 1671, voted to hire a master "that shall be able and fit to teach and instruct children and youth to read English, and to write and cast accounts at least." At Plymouth, in 1670, is the record, "At the said meeting the said John Morton proffered to teach the children and youth of the town to read and write and cast accounts, on reasonable consideration." At Weymouth, in 1684, the master was "to keep a free school and teach all children and servants sent to him to read, write and cast

accounts." And at Rehoboth, in 1699, he was "to teach English, and write and cast accounts." Malden, in 1702, chose a schoolmaster "to learn children and youth to read and write and to 'Refmetick' according to his best skill."

After 1700 such entries become too numerous for extended quotation. The increase of population, the spread of the idea of free primary education, and the desire for practical training caused a great increase in the number of English schools, which, of course, corresponded in grade to our present primary and grammar schools. The old grammar or Latin school was finally developed into the academy or high school, as circumstances dictated.

XIV

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Private schools of one kind or another existed from the earliest times. The first dame schools were private; so were the schools that ministers often kept to prepare boys for college. Often schools that were started as private were aided by the towns, and later some of them became public schools. A notable instance was that at Cambridge. Here Mr. Dunster, president of Harvard, had built a private schoolhouse, and in 1647 the town had voted, "There is liberty granted unto Mr. Dunster to fell some timber for the new schoolhouse." Evidently the school was soon taken over by the town, for it is recorded in 1656: "The town do agree and consent that there shall be a rate made to the value of £108–10, and levied of the several inhabitants for the payment for the schoolhouse, provided that every man be allowed what he hath already freely contributed thereto, in part of his proportion of such rate." Finally, in 1660, it was voted: "As a final issue of all complaints referring to Mr. Dunster's expenses about the schoolhouse, although in strict justice nothing doth appear to be due, it being done by a voluntary act of particular inhabitants and Mr. Dunster; and also the town having otherwise recompensed Mr. Dunster for his labors and expenses therein, yet the town, considering the case as it is now circumstanced and especially the condition of his relict widow and children, do agree that £30 be levied on the inhabitants of the town by the selectmen and paid to Mr. Dunster's executors, and that on condition that they make an absolute deed of sale of the said house and land to the town, with a clear acquittance for the full payment thereof."

At New Haven, in 1645, "Mr. Pearce, a private teacher, desired the plantation to take notice that if any will send their children to him, he will instruct them in writing and arithmetic, . . . but arithmetic without Latin had no chance in competition with Latin without arithmetic, and nothing is heard of Mr. Pearce's school afterwards."

At other places in Connecticut, however, private schools sometimes interfered with the public, for in 1670 Stamford made this agreement, "The town doth grant and agree to put down all petty schools that are or may be kept in the town which may be prejudicial to the general school." Boston seems to have kept a close watch on private schools of every kind. In 1666 this record was made, "Mr. Jones . . . was sent for by the selectmen for keeping a school, and required to perform his promise to the town in the winter to remove himself and family in the spring, and forbidden to keep school any longer." In 1667 "Mr. Will Howard has liberty to keep a writing school to teach children to write and to keep accounts"; and again, in 1712, liberty was granted to two men and one woman "to exercise the keeping of school within this town." The men were "Messrs. Jacob Sheafe and Edward Goddard, who were approved by the selectmen as keepers of schools in this town for the teaching youth to write &c., as they have heretofore done."

The commercial prosperity of the town is indicated in the first subject offered in this permit given in Boston in 1715, "Liberty is granted to John Sanderline to keep a school in this town for the teaching of navigation, writing and arithmetic." And a rather peculiar combination was offered in 1719 when it was voted "that Mr. Sam'l Granger, according to his request, be admitted to keep school to teach writing, logic and merchant's accounts in this town, he giving security upon his admittance as an inhabitant."

Applications, however, were not always favored. In 1716 two men desired to open a dancing school, but "their petition

as partners to keep a school of manners or dancing school in this town, is disapproved by the selectmen." Sometimes schools were opened without a permit and the selectmen had to take action, as in 1714, when they voted to make complaint to the Court of General Sessions "against R. Stanhope for keeping a public dancing school in Boston without allowance and approbation of the selectmen."

A new subject appeared in 1727, when Caleb Phillips, teacher of shorthand, was "admitted to reside in this town and to exercise his calling, having given security to indemnify the town as the law directs."

Navigation appeared again in 1730, when it was recorded: "On the petition of Mr. Richard Champion, the said Richard Champion has the allowance and approbation of the selectmen to set up and keep a school in the town of Boston for teaching and instructing in writing, arithmetic and in the art of navigation, and other parts of the mathematics according to his petition on file." French was also mentioned in the same year. "In answer to the petition of Mr. Langlaserie, liberty is granted to him to reside and inhabit in the town of Boston and to keep a school for teaching and instructing in the French tongue, he having given security to indemnify the town as the law directs."

A very curious combination was offered in 1734. "Upon a motion made by Mr. George Brownell for liberty to open a school for the instruction of youth in reading, writing, cyphering, dancing, and the use of the needle, voted, that Mr. Brownell have liberty granted him to keep such a school accordingly, while he continues to regulate the same in conformity to the laws of this province and to the approbation of the selectmen for the time being." And in 1735 we have a very broad permission. "Whereas Capt. Nathaniel Oliver has applied to the selectmen for liberty to keep a school, liberty is accordingly granted him to keep a school for the teaching and instructing of children and youth in reading,

writing, or any other science, agreeable to the law of the province." A similar permit was given the same year to the Reverend Nathaniel Williams, who petitioned for liberty "to keep a grammar school in his house. Liberty was granted him accordingly to keep a school for the teaching and instructing of children and youth in reading, writing, or any other science, agreeable to law."

A rather peculiarly worded permit is this from Boston in 1736: "Voted the said Mr. Joseph Kent have liberty to keep a school in this town for the teaching and instructing youth &c. in mathematical arts and sciences, whilst he continues to behave himself to the approbation of the selectmen of the town for the time being."

A glimpse of the polite accomplishments of the period is afforded in a record of 1737, when "Mr. Peter Pelham presented a petition praying for liberty to open a school in this town for the education of children in reading, writing, needle work, dancing, and the art of painting upon glass &c." The petition was granted.

About this time private schools seem to have flourished. In 1738 "Mr. Ebenezer Swan appearing, prays that liberty may be granted him to open a school in this town for teaching writing, arithmetic and merchants' accounts." The request was granted. There were many similar applications every year, but not all were allowed. In 1744, for instance, when Peter Gebande asked to open a school "for teaching of the Latin and French languages," it was voted "that he be not allowed to keep any school in this town." Mr. John Trevett also appeared and "desired liberty to set up a school in this town to teach writing and arithmetic." The request was denied. John Swinerton "prays that he may keep a free school for the learning of children to spell and read. . . . Voted that the same be dismissed."

Action was taken against one who had neglected to secure permission in 1737. "Mr. Savell is ordered to acquaint

Mr. Scammell, who has opened a mathematical school at the north end of the town, as appears by his printed advertisement, that his so doing before he has obtained the approbation of the selectmen, is contrary to law."

The various "advanced mathematics" of those times are mentioned in the following permit, granted in Boston in 1742: "Voted that Mr. Nathan Prince be admitted an inhabitant of this town according to his motion made the 16th instant, and that he have liberty to open a school in this town for the instructing any persons who are desirous of it, in the following arts and sciences, viz., in arithmetic, the elements of geometry, and algebra, in trigonometry and navigation, in the arts of dialling, surveying, gauging, and other kinds of mensuration, in astronomy and geography with the use of the globes, and in the several kinds of the projection of the sphere, as also in the general principles and rules of fortification and gunnery, together with lectures on history and natural philosophy, agreeable to his petition presented on the 16th instant."

The following notice is brief: Boston, in 1744, "voted that liberty be granted to Mr. Abia Holbrook to keep a private school, to teach youth the rules of Psalmody."

Evening schools are described in the following advertisement, which combines education and business in a rather striking way. It is from the *Boston News Letter* of September 12, 1748. "Mr. Pelham's writing and arithmetic school near the town house, during the winter season, will be open from candle light till nine in the evening, as usual, for the benefit of those employed in business all the day; and at his dwelling house, near the Quakers' meetinghouse in Lindell's Row, all persons may be supplied with the best Virginia tobacco, cut, spun in the very best pig tail, and all other sorts; also snuff at the cheapest rate."

The following case of partial permission is interesting: in 1749 Edward Cheever, son of Thomas Cheever, "presented

a petition to the selectmen, praying liberty to open a school in this town to teach youth the Latin tongue, to read, write and cypher." It was voted that he "have liberty to keep a school to teach children to read in the English tongue." Evidently the selectmen would not allow any interference with their Latin school.

That the town was as careful of admitting citizens and pupils as it was in licensing teachers is shown by the following entry in 1739: "Mrs. Curtis, the wife of Capt. William Curtis, mariner, now at sea, appeared and informs that she has lived in this town five months, and desires she may have the privilege of educating her children in the free schools of the town, in order to which she was directed to procure bondsmen to indemnify the town according to the law in that case provided, in the sum or penalty of two hundred pounds."

After the Revolution private schools became even more numerous. The years from 1790 to 1795 show an especially large number. Many were for the ordinary branches, but there were many also for navigation, bookkeeping, and similar subjects, made necessary by the commercial growth of the colonies, and also schools for dancing and other accomplishments. Evening schools became more common. In Salem "an evening school of a private character was taught in 1770 and again in 1772. Mr. Steward proposed to instruct twelve poor boys from January to April, 1774, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings. His compensation came from the Brown fund, placed at the disposal of the committee." Also at Norwich, Connecticut, it was recorded, "In 1774 Thomas Ayre advertises to teach an evening school at the rate of one shilling per week for a class of not less than ten pupils."

The following, from Boston in 1786, has been called the first evening school, but the advertisement of a much earlier one has already been quoted: "Mr. James Leach asks the approbation of the selectmen for opening a school for teaching

arithmetic on evenings, and also asks leave for making use of Mr. Davis' school on every evening of the week save one." It was voted not to approve "unless he is well recommended," but permission was granted later. The next year "Mr. Elkanah Hawkes has liberty granted to open an evening school for the instruction of youth in writing &c."

A touch of modern enterprise is seen in the following report from Boston (1755), when an advertiser proposed to teach "persons of both sexes from twelve to fifty years of age, who never wrote before, to write a good hand in five weeks, at one hour per day, at his house in Long Lane."

Masters were allowed to teach in their spare time, and in 1784 the town fixed the price. "The town having passed a vote at their last meeting that the selectmen shall affix the sum the masters of the public writing schools shall receive for instructing youth at private hours, they, having considered the matter, do affix the price of instruction in private hours at twenty shillings per quarter for each scholar." In the same year a man petitioned for liberty to set up a school "to teach youth to write, cypher, English grammar, &c. Liberty is accordingly granted upon conditions of his complying with the orders of the town with respect to the price of teaching scholars."

The town still kept up its warfare on unauthorized schools. In 1765 "the selectmen upon reading an advertisement in the Thursday newspaper that one Richard Venables had opened a dancing school at the Green Dragon tavern, directed Mr. Williston to require his attendance at their chamber. He attended accordingly and was informed by the selectmen that they should not permit his keeping such a school in this town." And again, in 1780, "the selectmen have determined that in case application is not made to the selectmen within ten days for their approbation of Mr. Pond's keeping school in this town, a prosecution shall be entered against him." A petition for liberty to open an English grammar school was entered within a week and was granted.

Dancing schools seem to have been watched with especial care. In 1766 "Mr. William Pope from Bermudas, who professes himself a teacher of dancing and fencing, attended and begged leave of the selectmen to keep a school in this town for the instruction of youth in those sciences." The petition was granted "for so long a time and no longer as his behaviour shall meet the approbation of the selectmen." In Boston, in 1795, also, "Mr. Dupont has been requested in writing to attend at the selectmen's chamber on Wednesday next on account of his advertising his keeping a school and teaching dancing on Saturday evenings, that he may be informed of the previous steps which should have been taken by him previous to such an advertisement." He appeared, and the permission was granted.

This entry of 1798 is noteworthy as taking up the education of the negro: "Mr. Elisha Sylvester, having been well recommended, is permitted to open a school in this town for the instruction of youth, more especially of African youth, in reading, writing, and arithmetic."

Most of the extracts given above, it will be noticed, are from the records of Boston. It was natural that the largest and wealthiest city of New England should be the center of private-school work, especially in the more advanced and uncommon branches. But private schools were to be found in other towns and colonies. In Connecticut, in 1742, it was considered necessary to control them by law. "Whereas the erecting of any other schools which are not under the establishment and inspection aforesaid may tend to train up youth in ill principles and practises, and introduce such disorders as may be of fatal consequence to the public peace and weal of this colony," it was ordered "that no particular persons whatsoever shall presume of themselves to erect, establish, set up, keep or maintain any college, seminary of learning, or any public school whatsoever, for the instruction of young persons, other than such as are erected and established or

allowed by the laws of this colony, without special license or liberty first had and obtained of this assembly." The penalty was "five pounds lawful money per month for every month he shall continue to act as aforesaid."

Private schools were sometimes sanctioned by the towns as schools that fulfilled the colony law requiring the establishment of public schools. Thus, at Stamford, Connecticut, in 1702, where a private school was kept by Samuel Holley, the town clerk, it was voted: "That the town doth say that they doth accept the present school kept by the person to teach to read English, and to write, and arithmetic, as a school according to law."

Navigation as a subject is found at Norwich, Connecticut. "In October, 1787, Newcomb Kenny advertises that he has opened a school in a large, convenient room in Capt. Bela Peck's house, where he will teach reading, writing, English grammar, composition, geography, with the use of the terrestrial globe, book-keeping by single and double entry, arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, navigation, and surveying by actual survey. He will also obtain board for pupils in a reputable house at six shillings per week and will accept country produce or West India goods in payment."

At Charlestown, in 1749, "the selectmen approbated and allowed Mr. Matthew Cushing to keep a private school in this town to instruct youth in reading, writing, and cyphering, and other science, he having been recommended as a person of sober and good conversation."

The prices charged for private tuition seem to have been very reasonable, for at Amherst, in 1766, the master "in the winter evenings kept cyphering schools a few weeks at one shilling an evening."

The following advertisement of a private school is interesting for its completeness and definiteness. It is from the *Farmers' Journal* of Connecticut in 1791. "A school will be opened in Danbury by the subscriber near the bridge, on

Monday the 23rd instant, May, to continue three months, consisting of thirty scholars, each to pay for the time he comes his proportion of nine pounds, lawful money, the one half in cash or grain at the market price, by the first day of December next ensuing, and the other half in any kind of mechanic's or farmer's labor, in the present season. The following branches are taught in said school, viz., spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic. For further particulars and entrance apply to Ezra Barnum.

"P.S. All persons who have accounts open with the subscriber of more than six months' standing, are requested to settle the same without further notice.

"N.B. A boy or girl under ten years of age may be boarded at three shillings per week if the pay may be depended upon.

"Ezra Barnum."

The beginning of a private school which afterwards became a public one is detailed in the diary of the Reverend Joseph Green of Danvers in 1708. "Meeting of the inhabitants. I speak with several about building a schoolhouse. I went into the town-meeting and said to this effect; 'Neighbors, I am about building a schoolhouse for the good education of our children, and have spoken to several of the neighbors who are willing to help it forward, so that I hope we shall quickly finish it. And I speak of it here that so every one that can have any benefit may have opportunity for so good a service.' Some replied that it was a new thing to them and they desired to know where it should stand and what the design of it was. To them I answered that Deacon Ingersoll would give land for it to stand on, at the upper end of the training field, and that I designed to have a good schoolmaster to teach their children to read and write and cypher, and everything that is good. Many commended the design and none objected to it." A note on this passage adds: "The schoolhouse erected on the training field now known as the Common, in Danvers Center, was the first in Danvers.

XV

GOVERNMENT OF SCHOOLS

In the earliest times the management of the schools was directly in the hands of the towns, and all details — salaries, for instance — were settled by vote at the town meetings. Often committees were appointed, but these were for temporary purposes only, to get information or to carry out the wishes of the voters. As the population increased it was customary to designate the selectmen as a committee to carry on the schools. Frequently other persons, especially ministers, were joined with them. Later the selectmen or the mixed committees were superseded by special school committees elected by the voters. While this order seems to be the normal and regular one there are various deviations and omissions, and the precise development in some places is not easy to trace. Some of the earliest schools were endowed, partially at least, and their management was put in the hands of trustees, or feoffees, as they were called. Thus in Dorchester, in 1645, is this record of an endowed grammar school: "And for the well ordering thereof they have chosen and elected seven feoffees who shall have power to put in or remove the schoolmaster, to see to the well ordering of the school and scholars, to receive and pay the said twenty pounds per annum to the schoolmaster, and to dispose of any other gift or gifts which hereafter may or shall be given for the advancement of learning and education of children."

A year before in the same town "there were wardens appointed to take care of and manage the affairs of the school; they were to see that both the master and scholar performed their duty and to judge of and end any difference that might

arise between master and scholar and their parents, according to sundry rules and directions there set down." Dorchester claims these three wardens to be the first school committee in America, though it would seem that they were more like the feoffees elected the following year. That it was not a real school committee in the modern sense is shown by a vote in 1683, which states "that the selectmen shall have full power to hire a schoolmaster for the year ensuing."

Another very early record is that of New Haven in 1641. At the town meeting "it was ordered that a free school shall be set up in this town and our pastor, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates, shall consider what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the treasury of the town." This is an early instance of the tendency to make joint committees of the selectmen and prominent citizens, especially ministers.

Still earlier is the brief record at Charlestown, in 1637, when there was a "committee chosen to settle schoolmaster Wetherell's wages."

The hiring of a master and agreement as to his salary were naturally very often intrusted to committees, though many times the salary and even the selection of the teacher were settled by direct vote in the town meeting, as shown in the chapters on schoolmasters and salaries.

"Government by committee" is shown at Newbury, in 1652, when it was voted that a special committee of four "should be a committee for the managing the business of the school." Again in 1677 there was a committee "to hire the schoolmaster." In 1687, also, a committee chosen by the town "agreed with Mr. Seth Shove to be the Latin schoolmaster for the town of Newbury for the present year."

A greater confidence in the selectmen than usual is shown at Meriden, Connecticut, where in 1678 "the town leaves the matter of schools with the selectmen to promote the same according to law," and later, when the selectmen

had reported, the town made an appropriation to meet the recommendations which they had made.

The extent to which the towns usually delegated their authority to selectmen or committees is shown by the following vote at Dedham in 1652. "The question concerning the school being kept only in winter being proposed for resolution; the answer is, that the selectmen that shall be this day chosen shall attend to procure a fit schoolmaster at the beginning of the summer, and if it prove difficult or not to be attained they may propose the case to the town for further resolution."

Still more to the point was the vote at Newport on August 18, 1708, when an "adjourned quarterly meeting" voted "that the town council of Newport are empowered to take the schoolhouse into their hands to manage all the prudential affairs belonging to said house, always reserving to the quarterly meeting in said town the power of choosing the schoolmasters for said house, always provided that the freemen of said town, assembled in their quarterly meeting, have power further to alter or order the above premises and that the . . . power always be invested therein."

Again, towns frequently, in placing the schools in the hands of the selectmen, gave them certain explicit directions. Norwich did this in 1680, when the school was committed to the selectmen with these injunctions:

"First, that parents send their children.

"Second, that they pay their proportion according to what is judged just.

"Third, that they take care that parents be not oppressed, especially such who are disabled."

At Salem, in 1670, it was voted that "the selectmen shall take care to provide a grammar schoolmaster and agree with him for his maintenance," and later in the year a committee was appointed to agree with Daniel Epes, Jr. Here, while schools were often placed in the hands of the selectmen, the

town did not relinquish fully into their hands the control of the schools, but only so far as they gave directions and authority. The town, in its communication to the selectmen, said, "You shall give the grammar schoolmaster such instructions and directions as you shall think needful for regulation of the school." This was in 1699. Again, at the same place, "originally it was the custom for the voters to manage the schools at the town meetings. As schools grew more numerous, and more frequent attention to details was required, it was found impossible to exercise proper control in this way. The selectmen were first intrusted with this responsibility; but in 1712 an occasion called for a board of committee, the selection of a teacher for the Latin school." Five men were chosen. "Samuel Browne, in 1729, stipulated that the schools upon which his donations were bestowed should be committed to men chosen for that special duty."

Appointments of special committees, or of selectmen, or of both, to secure teachers, are extremely numerous. The following are all dated before the eighteenth century. At Stamford, in 1671, a committee of three was appointed "to treat and if they can so agree with Mr. Rider to teach school in the town." At Beverly, in 1686, "further it was then agreed that the new selectmen, with the assistance of Capt. William Rayment and Corporal Thomas West, as a committee were chosen to agree with said schoolmaster" about his salary and other details.

At Dedham, in 1690, a committee of two "are desired to agree with Thomas Batteley to keep the school and also to procure a convenient house room to keep the school in," and in 1691 a committee of one "is desired and appointed to agree with Sir Lord of Charlestown to keep the school in this town for one year."

At Woburn, in 1692, "a committee of three was chosen to enquire for and treat with some suitable person" for schoolmaster, and at Yarmouth, in 1693, a committee was

appointed "to agree with some fit person to teach school." Later, in 1699, a large committee was "on the lookout" for a schoolmaster. At Rehoboth, in 1698, "the town voted that a schoolmaster as the law directs should be attained, and the selectmen should endeavor the gaining one, and likewise agree with him when attained, for his encouragement to keep school."

Some of the reasons for denying the selectmen full power are hinted at in the following passage concerning Springfield: "In January, 1694, the town empowered the selectmen to hire the schoolmaster, a circumstance worthy of note, as it was no unusual thing to devote to the position of selectmen men who could not write. Miles Morgan was an example; his 'mark' was a rudely drawn anchor."

At the same town, in 1709, three men "were sent abroad to bring schoolmaster John Sherman to the village." Does this mean that they intended him great honor, or was it an old-time "junketing tour"?

Some friend of Newton claims that, in 1706, three men were chosen as a school committee, and "that they were chosen annually ever after." If this is correct, Newton was the first place to have a regular school committee, but confirmation of this report has not been found.

Throughout the eighteenth century there is a steady drift toward delegating the management of the schools to committees. Instances are so numerous that a few illustrations will be sufficient. Thus, Charlestown seems to have given school matters to committees for settlement very frequently. In 1728, 1750, and 1791 there are reports of such committees, showing that the schools were given special consideration. These reports are in the records.

Brookline also shows the process of development. In 1723 it was "voted that there should be trustees to manage the affairs of the schools in the said town"; in 1727 it was voted that four men "be added to the selectmen as a

committee to bring the schools into some good method"; in 1730 a committee of three was chosen to provide masters and dames; in 1791 one clergyman and two other men "were chosen to examine the schools on the last Wednesday in October next and on the last Wednesday in every quarter through the year"; and in 1823 it was "voted that the school committee have a joint power with the selectmen in regulating the schools."

Many towns have a series of votes showing this development. A few instances are given. Hartford is one of the earliest. In 1661 "at the same meeting, by the vote of the town, the four men that are called the townsmen are requested to agree with a schoolmaster for this present winter, and longer for the summer if they see meet, and to hire a house for the keeping the school for the time promised, at the town charge." In 1665 it was "voted by the town that the committee for the school should have liberty to build a schoolhouse." In 1700 "four men were chosen a committee for the management of the prudentials of the school in Hartford," and "the town by their vote do empower the committee chosen for the school above to place or displace the schoolmaster." In 1705 there was a school committee of five.

These committees had no power except such as was delegated by the direct vote of the towns. They had no power under a general law.

Deerfield used special committees and the selectmen indiscriminately. In 1698 it was voted "that a committee shall be chosen to look after the building of said schoolhouse and to hire a schoolmaster." There were three men on this first committee. In 1700 a school committee of three was chosen "whose work shall be to hire a meet person or persons to teach the town's children to read and write, as also to repair the town's schoolhouse at their discretion, which is to be repaired at the town's charge; as also to proportion the providing of firewood to the scholars." In 1720 "at the same

meeting the town made choice [of three men] to be as a committee for the concerns of the school, to hire a schoolmaster, to hire a schoolhouse, or whatever is proper for a school committee to do." But in 1722 "the *selectmen* were authorized to hire a schoolhouse, and hire a schoolmaster to teach reading, writing, and cyphering for half a year," and in 1724 it was "voted that a schoolmaster be hired for the year ensuing and that the selectmen shall take care to hire some fit person to learn youth to read and cypher." In 1740 and 1742, also, the selectmen were made a committee to look after school matters.

Duxbury veered from the selectmen to special committees. Thus, in 1731, "the said town also voted that the selectmen should take care to provide a schoolmaster for them for the year ensuing." The same vote was passed the next year. In 1735, however, the town chose three men "agents, to procure a schoolmaster for the said town and to make their report to the said town at their next town meeting of their doings therein, the said schoolmaster to serve for one year next ensuing." The following two years, also, three agents were chosen, while in 1742 *one* man was chosen agent "to procure a schoolmaster," and this practice continued for some years, to 1752.

Haverhill, in 1712, had committees to build the schoolhouses, but the selectmen were directed to provide the schoolmasters. In 1789 it was "voted to choose a committee to inspect the schools." This committee consisted of the "settled clergymen and selectmen" and five prominent citizens. It was "voted the above committee visit the schools quarterly and make report to the town at their annual March and fall meetings." This was the first school committee in Haverhill, and it has been continued ever since.

At Providence, in 1752, a committee of five was appointed "to have the care of the town schoolhouse, and to appoint a master to teach in said house." Later, in 1767, a committee

was named to consider the whole school question and report. Some of their recommendations show a decided advance in educational opinion. They advised "that a school committee shall be annually chosen of persons dwelling in different parts of the town, who are hereby clothed with ample power and authority from time to time to appoint masters and ushers, in all or any of the schools, and to pass certificates to the town treasurer for their receiving the same." Complaints, removals of masters, and the care and repair of schoolhouses were to be delegated to them. These recommendations embody most of the powers and duties of school committees which came in later years by slow processes. Disputes on qualifications of pupils were also to be referred to the committee. This report, however, was not accepted by the town.

Dudley, in 1744, voted two men "a committee to provide a schoolmaster for the center of the town and a place for him to board at." Dudley seems to have used special committees from the first, and not the selectmen. Votes similar to the above are found all through the records. In the town warrant for 1751 is the item, "To choose a school committee for the year ensuing." In 1754 the school committee consisted of seven members. There is no special record in the next forty years.

A series of votes at Framingham, extending over nearly a hundred years, shows a constant employment of special committees. The town, in 1706, decided to have a schoolmaster and voted that a committee of two "should agree with him what he should have for his pains." In 1717 "a committee was appointed to indent with a schoolmaster as by law is directed, for one quarter of a year." Again, in 1724, it was voted "that the committee to hire a schoolmaster shall first treat with a scholar of the college; that they treat with Sir James Stone and acquaint him that the town is desirous to enjoy him as their schoolmaster." A schoolhouse was built

there and a committee of three was formed to "take care of the schoolhouse that it may not be *damnified* upon Sabbath days," a peculiar duty, surely. Years after, in 1800, a committee of nine was appointed "to draw up by-laws for regulating the schools," and in 1802 "it was made the duty of the school committee to examine the schoolmasters and mistresses and to visit the several schools."

Lunenburg, in 1732, voted that three men "be a committee to provide a school and schoolmaster for to teach children and youth to read and write, and if the committee see good to hire a grammar schoolmaster, they shall have the liberty, provided they pay the overplus charge of what the keeping of a grammar school would be more than the charge of keeping an English school." In 1735 it was "voted that the selectmen be a committee fully empowered to make due provision and provide for a school." In 1737 it was voted "that the committee be paid for their time spent in hiring a schoolmaster." Three were appointed. After 1738 committees were appointed almost every year to attend to the schools. That duty was seldom left to the selectmen in this town.

Mr. Page gives this account of Cambridge: "The earliest record which I have found of the election of a school committee is dated May 21, 1744, when it was voted that five gentlemen 'be a committee to inspect the grammar school in this town, and to enquire, at such times as they shall think meet, what proficiency the youth and children make in their learning.' Again, on May 7, 1770, it was 'voted, that a committee of nine persons be and hereby are fully empowered to choose a grammar schoolmaster for said town, . . . and that said committee be a committee of inspection upon the said schoolmaster and that said committee be and hereby are empowered to regulate said school.'

"Generally, however, the schools were under the charge of the selectmen until March 23, 1795, when a committee

consisting of seven gentlemen was 'chosen for the purpose of superintending the schools in this town, and carrying into effect the school act.'"

At Worcester, in 1727, there was a committee of five, "the first school committee," but in 1729 matters were referred to the selectmen again. However, in 1730 a committee of five was appointed to "provide a schoolmaster at the charge of the town," and "to order where the school shall be kept in said town." Generally, however, the selectmen were in charge of the schools up to 1738, when a committee of five was appointed "to provide a suitable schoolmaster for the said town for the year ensuing." In 1801 it was voted that "a committee of three be raised, who in addition to the selectmen shall be required to visit the several schools in the town and advise upon the best method of instructing the same." In 1808 it was "voted to choose a committee to examine and enquire whether the money granted for public schools may not be expended to better advantage than it has formerly been."

Special committees were largely employed at Plymouth in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Thus, in 1703, a committee of three was appointed to get a grammar schoolmaster, and in 1706 a committee of four to agree with the schoolmaster, and for a number of years special committees were chosen to manage the schools. In 1714 "with reference to the promoting of a school for learning of children at each end of the town, the town appointed the selectmen of said town together with [two men] to consider of some method to present to the town at the next town meeting in order to promote that work." In 1716 the schools were settled and it was voted that "there be a committee chosen to provide suitable persons to keep said schools," and in 1725 a school was established for seven years, and three men were named to "be a committee to provide a suitable schoolmaster from time to time during said space."

At Northampton, for one hundred and five years school affairs had been controlled by the town direct or by the selectmen, but in 1759 a regular school committee was elected — six men who were to join with the selectmen in the conduct of school affairs. They were instructed "to join the selectmen to consider how many schools it should be necessary and profitable for this town to keep, from this time to next plowing time, for the instruction of the boys of this town, both in grammar learning and to read and write, and empowered said committee together with the selectmen to determine the same in behalf of the town, and to procure suitable persons to keep and teach such schools, and to take up such house or houses besides the schoolhouse as shall be needed for that purpose. To agree upon the sums to be given such teachers or masters. To assign the number of boys to each school that at present are kept or that they shall judge proper to set up and to determine and order of what sort they shall be, to wit, whether grammar scholars or readers or writers, which shall be admitted to and taught in each school respectively." "Unlimited power relating to schools was by this vote, delegated to this committee. They were empowered to control the schools, to hire teachers, provide schoolrooms, and were authorized to expend whatever money was needed for school purposes without restriction."

The next year the committee consisted of four beside the selectmen, and they were instructed to consider the necessity of "setting up one or more English schools in addition to those already kept," and "to supply the schools with wood forthwith."

Committees were intermittent. In 1795 one was instructed to "report a plan of education comporting with the law and calculated to diffuse a general and equal instruction of children throughout the town." "At a subsequent meeting this committee reported that they had concluded not to recommend a system of education but suggested the establishment

of a school committee consisting of the selectmen and four other persons, who should be authorized to control all educational matters in the town." Further, "that it shall be the duty of the school committee to provide instructors, to apportion the scholars to the different schools, to determine on school hours, to alter if they see fit the time and manner of instructing girls, and in general, to inspect and regulate the schools according to their best discretion. Provided, however, that it shall not be in the discretion of the committee to violate any law respecting schools, nor to expend any greater sum annually than the said $820. And that the town may know the situation of their schools the committee shall report at the March meeting annually a general statement of the schools, setting forth the number of scholars in each, the branches of learning taught in each, and the sum given to each instructor." This report was accepted.

The tendency to place ministers upon the committees is shown by the following records: In Woburn, about 1780, a committee of two clergymen and five prominent men was appointed "to examine into the government of the schools and to recommend some uniform system of instruction." The committee made several recommendations which were accepted. At Orleans, in 1798, "the usual appropriations were made for schools, and the minister and selectmen were appointed a committee to examine teachers in regard to qualifications and to direct and superintend their labors." At Sudbury, in 1802, the committee was "empowered to hire all teachers . . . and . . . after consultation with the minister and the teachers employed, to decide what books should be used." At Boscawen, New Hampshire, after the superintending committee law of 1809, the committee was composed of two ministers and three selectmen. They voted to visit schools and laid the manner of so doing. Wenham, in 1806, voted "that the selectmen and the committee chosen in each school ward for procuring schoolmasters for the

time being, shall be a committee for the purpose of visiting schools with Rev. R. Anderson, for the better management of schools agreeable to law."

In fact, the clergymen were generally all included on these early committees, but when, at Dunstable, "in May, 1810, the town chose for the first time a regular school committee to visit and examine the schools in consecutive order," none of the five members was a clergyman.

The appointment or election of regular school committees began to prevail about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Thus at Concord, in 1799, the first school committee of five was chosen. Hingham, in 1787, chose four men a "committee to assist the selectmen in taking care of and providing for the schools." After 1794 this was done annually until the law of 1827 required a separate school committee. Of Yarmouth it is said, "In 1783 and thenceforward annually, the town chose committees to secure a schoolmaster and attend to the interests of the schools." Boxford had its first school committee in 1795, "to hire schoolmasters and dames and to inspect the schools if thought proper."

Longmeadow, in 1800, "voted to choose a committee of five whose duty it shall be at convenient times to visit the several schools and attend to their regulations, and also see that no teacher keeps a school for any considerable time without their approbation and the approval of the minister of the town."

At Medfield, in 1813, "a committee was chosen to visit and superintend the schools." There were four men. "This is the first distinct mention of such a board."

Wenham was a typical town in this respect. There, for a long time, the selectmen had care of the schools; "they hired the teacher, determined the length of the school, and the place where it should be kept. It was not till 1772 that a committee was appointed especially to take charge of the schools, nor was it done habitually till considerably later."

XVI

VISITATION

In the chapter on Religion in the Schools are recorded many instances of visiting by the ministers for the purpose of examining the pupils in the catechism and their other religious instruction. The practice of making these visits continued many years. The selectmen and other prominent citizens sometimes joined them, and as time went on persons were specially designated for such visitation. Naturally, the duty fell later on those selectmen who formed a kind of special committee on the schools, and, later still, on the school committee proper. Finally the official duties of the minister ceased, but not till well within the nineteenth century.

One of the first-recorded votes was at Billerica, in 1661, when it was voted that "the townsmen do agree that Lieut. Will French and Ralph Hill, senior, do take care and examine the several families in our town whether their children and servants are taught in the precepts of religion in reading and learning their catechism." In 1668 the selectmen's records state that they "appoint the next second day to go the rounds to examine the teaching of children and youth according to law." Again, in 1674, it was recorded: "In reference to the catechising of the youth of the town and examining them concerning their reading, a duty imposed on the selectmen by the Honorable Court, to take care that children and youth be instructed in both: the selectmen do order that all children and youth, single persons from eight years old and upward, their parents and masters shall send such children and servants to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Whiting, at such times as shall afterwards be appointed by him, to be examined of

both, as hoping this might be a good expedient for the encouragement of all superiors and youth."

In the New Haven Colony, in 1660, we read "that if the common school be settled in this town, the Hon. Governor, Magistrates, Elders, and Deputies would *solemnly* and together visit the grammar school once every year at the court for elections, to examine the scholars' proficiency in learning." More than fifty years later, in 1714, in the Connecticut Colony, "Forasmuch as the upholding and good ordering of the schools erected in towns by order of this assembly and partly maintained out of the public treasury, is of great importance to the public weal, and the neglect thereof will be the occasion of much ignorance, disorder and profaneness," it was ordered "that the colony authority together with the selectmen in every town, or majority part of them, shall inspect, and they are hereby directed and empowered as visitors to inspect the state of all such schools as are appointed in the said town from time to time, and particularly once in each quarter of the year, at such time as they shall think proper, to visit such schools and enquire into the qualifications of the masters of such schools and their diligence in attending to the service of the said school, together with the proficiency of the children under their care. And they are hereby further required to give such directions as they shall find needful, to render such schools most serviceable to the increase of that knowledge, civility, and religion which is designed in the erecting of them. . . . That if in this inspection of the said schools, the said inspectors observe any such disorders or misapplication of the public money allowed to the support of such schools as render the said schools not likely to attain the good ends proposed, they shall lay the same before this Assembly that the proper orders in such cases necessary may be given."

Returning to Massachusetts, Salem and Ipswich both, in 1740, passed identical votes: "The selectmen are to visit the schools quarterly."

Sometimes the induction of a new master was made the occasion of a visit, as at Charlestown on August 20, 1764: "This day the selectmen, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Prentice and some other gentlemen of the town, visited the school, and after good advice given the children and solemn prayers to God for his blessing, they gave Mr. William Harris the care of the writing school."

Woburn, about 1775, appointed a committee of two clergymen and five prominent men "to examine into the government of the schools and to recommend some uniform system of instruction." In their report, which was accepted, was this: "We recommend a visitation of the respective schools by the ministers of the town, the school committee and the selectmen, on the day previous to each master's finishing his respective school; notice being given them by the respective masters." Likewise Haverhill, in 1789, "voted to choose a committee to inspect the schools." This committee was "the settled clergymen and selectmen" and five prominent citizens. It was voted that "the above committee visit the schools quarterly and make report to the town at their annual March and fall meetings." In Roxbury, in 1790, the selectmen's report announced that "they with the Rev. Mr. Porter, on the 15th of February last, visited the several schools through the town. In each of said schools the scholars are taught to spell, and read the English language, and to speak with propriety, writing, arithmetic, with such other branches of human knowledge as their respective capacities are capable of imbibing." At Brookline, in 1791, one clergyman and two others "were chosen to examine the schools on the last Wednesday in October next, and on the last Wednesday in every quarter through the year."

Visitations could not always be "solemn" and formal. Thus, at Woodstock, Vermont, in the winter of 1799, the exhibition for district No. 8 was held "in Nathaniel Smith's house which was still unfinished. The exhibition was held

in the kitchen, the only room fit for the purpose, and the little boys were stowed away up stairs to watch proceedings through the chinks in the floor and ceiling."

The Framingham school rules in 1800 directed the committeeman to visit school one week after it opened, to see if the pupils had books. Poor children were provided for by the town; unprovided richer ones were excluded from school until provided. The teacher was to be notified of the visit. Another rule was "that the visiting committee be desired to visit the women's schools to see that the first rudiments of reading and spelling are properly taught." In 1802 it was made the duty of the school committee to visit the various schools.

Wenham, in 1806, voted "that the selectmen and the committee chosen in each school ward for procuring schoolmasters for the time being, shall be a committee for the purpose of visiting schools with Rev. R. Anderson, for the better management of schools, according to law."

At Boscawen, New Hampshire, after the superintending law of 1809, the committee was composed of two ministers and three selectmen. They voted to visit schools "the second Tuesday after their commencement, and the Tuesday preceding their close, and to this end public notice shall be given the Sabbath before such visit." It was voted "that three of the committee [there being five] should attend each visit, extraordinaries excepted, and should the case happen that but two or one shall be able to attend, after such public notice, it must be considered as the proper visit, and no new appointment can be made." On Tuesday, May 16, 1809, "the committee according to public notice visited the school district no. 6, Little Hill, under the care of Miss Mary Gerrish, 32 children; Books; spelling book, Preceptor, geography, grammar, Bible and catechism." Similar reports were made on other schools. These were summer schools, attended only by the younger children. It will be noted that *arithmetic* is not mentioned

among the textbooks. "Mental arithmetic was not introduced till about the year 1830. Its introduction produced great excitement. Many parents opposed it on the ground that it would confuse the minds of the children and would lead to insanity." The former fear has proved to be well founded.

At the winter visit to the same school the committee reported: "Visited school, Little Hill, 52 scholars, well arranged in a new and commodious schoolhouse, under care of Mr. Smith.

1 class 3 in 2 syllables,
2 class 4 in 3 syllables,
3 class 4 in poetical lessons, spelling book well,
4 class 10 in Preceptor,
5 class 4 in English reader, well,
6 class 27 in geography, some too fast, others slow,

17 parsed grammar, 33 spelled in dictionary, girls better than boys, 4 in arithmetic, 26 in writing. This school promises fair." The other schools were similarly reported on.

Then, as now, pupils and parents had their own ideas about the schools. Thus, at Oxford, in 1810, the school committee reported: "Your committee, in company with the Rev. Josiah Moulton and the Gentlemen Selectmen of said town, have attended to their duty and find the several schools, with the exception of Mr. Harwood's ward, in a flourishing state, being supplied with able teachers and actuated with a laudable ambition to excel; the reason of your committee's making an exception of Mr. Harwood's ward is that a large part of the parents and guardians in said ward are opposed to having their schools inspected and keep their children at home, which practise in the opinion of your committee is very injurious, as it tends to sap the first principles in society and frustrate every necessary regulation."

Boston, as is natural, furnishes the fullest account of the visiting, the record covering most of the eighteenth century. In 1710 a committee appointed to consider school matters

made a long report. Among the items was this: "We further propose and recommend as of great service and advantage for the promoting of diligence and good literature, that the town, agreeably to the usage in England and (as we understand) in some time past practised here, do nominate and appoint a certain number of gentlemen of liberal education, together with some of the reverend ministers of the town, to be inspectors of the said school, under that name, title or denomination, to visit the school from time to time, when and as often as they shall think fit, to inform themselves of the methods used in teaching of the scholars, and to enquire of their proficiency, and be present at the performance of some of their exercises, the master being before notified of their coming, and with him to consult and advise of further methods for the advancement of learning and the good government of the school. . . . And at their said visitation, one of the ministers by turn to pray with the scholars and entertain them with some instructions of piety specially adapted to their age and education. The inspectors also with the master to introduce an usher upon such salary as the town shall agree to grant for his services, all which is submitted to consideration." The report was accepted, and five inspectors chosen for the year. In 1724 the type of committee on school visitation is shown by the following: "The selectmen agreed to visit the schools upon Friday next, being the 12th day of February, instant, and have agreed to desire the Rev. Messrs. Benj. Wadsworth, Joseph Sewell and Samuel Checkley, ministers, to join them in visiting the school of Mr. Nathaniel Williams, and to meet at Mr. Wadsworth's at two of the clock; and to desire Col. Adam Winthrop, Col. Thomas Fitch, and Maj. Habi Savage to afford their company to visit the schools of Mr. Edward Mills and Mr. Jacob Sheaf, at ten of the clock in the forenoon; and to visit the north schools on Tuesday the 23rd at two of the clock, and the Rev. Messrs. Peter Thatcher, Gee and Calender,

presbyters, with Thomas and Edward Hutchinson, Esqs., and Mr. Samuel Greenwood to accompany them."

In 1728 it was voted "that the selectmen and such as they shall desire to accompany them, be the inspectors of the schools for the year ensuing," and in 1729 again the "selectmen and such as they shall desire to accompany them" were appointed to "be a committee to visit the public schools, and that they direct Mr. Peter Blin to a more constant and diligent application to discharging the trust committed to him."

In 1733 a new form was added to the visitation. After the appointment of the committee it was voted "that a dinner be provided at Mrs. Wardwell's and the above-mentioned gentlemen with the several schoolmasters be desired to dine with us." This was repeated in 1734. In 1736 the usual committee was appointed or invited, and a committee of two was appointed "to wait upon his Excellency, the Governor, and to inform him that the selectmen desire his Excellency would please to honor them with his company in the said visitation," and also a committee of two "are desired to take care that a suitable dinner be provided for the visitors of the schools on Tuesday, the 29th instant."

In 1737 the committee and day of visitation were appointed one week ahead. The schoolmasters were duly notified, and a committee of two was appointed "to provide a dinner at the Orange Tree for about twenty gentlemen on the day of the visitation." The same was done in 1738 for thirty gentlemen. In 1739 the dinner was for thirty and the ushers were included. Similar dinners were held the following three years; they seem to have become established as a custom, though some twenty years later, in the report to the town of the school visitations, there is no mention of the dinners. As to the cost we find that in 1743 the committee was "desired to agree for the [dinner] at the cheapest rate they can, not to exceed ten shillings per man."

The report of the selectmen on school visitation in 1738 states "that the number of scholars instructed in the public schools is as follows, viz.:

In the south grammar school about	120
In the north grammar school about	60
In the north writing school about	280
In the writing school in Queen St. about	73
In the south writing school about	62

That we heard the performances of the Latin scholars at each grammar school and inspected the performances of the scholars in the other schools, both in writing and arithmetic, and heard the younger scholars read. And that in general they performed to the great satisfaction of the visitors; and we have grounds to hope that the masters in the said several schools do faithfully discharge the trust reposed in them. And we look upon it as a point of justice, due to the master of the south writing school, to report that the writing both of the master and scholars has been of late much improved."

The selectmen were yearly instructed to visit schools and make report to the town. The list of visitors was often formidable, and the reports consisted generally of the number of scholars and the statement that they were "under good regulation."

In 1753 it was voted that eight prominent citizens (naming them), "or the major part of them, be and they hereby are appointed a committee to visit the public schools in the town the year ensuing, at such times as they shall think proper, to see what number of children are in each school, to enquire into their behavior and attendance, and the government and regulation they are under, and they are desired to make report hereon at the general town meeting in March next." This committee asked to be excused and was so excused. It was then voted "that the selectmen be and hereby are desired to visit the public schools more frequently than has been hitherto practised and enquire into the behavior of the

scholars and the government and regulation they are under, and give such directions to the masters of said schools concerning them as they shall judge needful."

Perhaps the dinner served on visitation days was a help in getting the committees to perform their duty. At any rate we read that in 1764 the school visitation was held on July 10, and it was voted "that a dinner be provided at Faneuil Hall for about fifty gentlemen on the day for visiting the school, and that Mr. Ballard shall have the dressing thereof, and also furnish the liquors that may be wanted." A still more elaborate celebration was held in 1765, when it was voted "that a dinner be provided at Faneuil Hall on the day of visiting the schools as usual. Mr. Williston was directed to call upon Mr. Wiswall and Mr. Lovell, the masters of the two public grammar schools, for the names of the fathers of those children who are in their highest forms and will leave school this season, that those parents may be invited to attend the visitation and dine at Faneuil Hall on said day."

The gathering storm of the Revolution is seen in 1774 "when the selectmen proceeded with the gentlemen invited to a visitation of the public schools, but on account of the present distress, the dinner usual on such days was laid aside."

In 1780 new masters were inducted into office by the selectmen as a body. Many items like this appear, "The selectmen met and proceeded to the north grammar school where Mr. Smith was inducted as master thereof."

In 1781, with the approach of peace, the dinner reappears. "It is agreed by the selectmen to attend the visitation of the schools on Wednesday the 11th of July next, and that a dinner be provided as usual." The clerk notified the masters of the time set for the visitation, and the ceremonies were apparently very formal. In 1783 the school visitation was held on July 9 and a dinner was provided as usual, for it was "agreed with Mr. Woart to dine about seventy or eighty persons on the day when the public schools

are to be visited, at 3/6 per man, and all the liquors that shall be drank are to be paid for."

A glimpse of the induction ceremonies in 1785 is given when we read: "The selectmen went this forenoon to the southernmost writing school and introduced Mr. Samuel Cheney as master of said school, when it was recommended that he give due attendance at school hours, and constantly open the school in the morning and close the same in the evening with prayer, and that he exert his abilities for the instruction of the children under his care in writing and arithmetic, and for preserving regularity and good order in the school, and that he does not fail causing the children to read a portion of scripture every day, and of instructing them in the catechism once a week. The children were exhorted to attend closely to the rules and orders of the school, and diligently to improve the advantages they were under for making proficiency in writing, arithmetic &c." In 1789 the selectmen were divided into sub-committees to visit certain schools "as often as they shall think proper, but not less than twice a month."

In 1790 is found the first account of girls:

Mr. Hunter's school had	63	boys,		
Carter and Bingham's "	220	boys,	180	girls,
Vinal and Ticknor's "	229	"	185	"
Tileston and Cheney's "	250	"	174	"

In 1794 the visitation dinners were still continued, according to the Massachusetts Historical Collections. "In the month of July annually the selectmen and gentlemen of science chosen by the town as a school committee, with other reputable characters invited by them, visit these schools to examine into the regulations and proficiency of the scholars, at which times specimens of their writings are shown and there are exhibitions of their reading and speaking. The visitors dine together at Faneuil Hall at the expense of the town."

XVII

ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS AGAINST ILLITERACY

Though the first schools established were grammar, or Latin, schools and pupils were not admitted till they could read, it is evident that parents were expected to see that their children learned to read, either at home or at a dame school. There are numerous records of votes and court decisions showing this expectation. Thus there is this order of the General Court of Massachusetts, dated the third month, 1636: "The chosen men of the towns are to see that parents train up their children in learning, labor and employment; if not, upon presentment of the grand jury, or other information of their neglect, the said townsmen are subject to fine. They may impose fines upon such parents as refuse to give the account of their children's education. . . . With the consent of two magistrates they have power to put for apprentice such children whose parents are not able and fit to bring them up." To carry out this or a later law, at Cambridge, in 1642, it was ordered "that according to an order of the Court, made the last General Court, for the townsmen to see to the educating children, that John Bridge shall take care of all the families of that side of the highway his own house stands on." Others were named for other portions of the town, seven in all, selectmen and two constables.

Masters were responsible for their apprentices, as parents for their children; thus at New Haven, in 1639, "Thomas Fugill is required by the court to keep Charles Higginson, an indentured apprentice, at school one year, or else advantage him so much in his education as one year's schooling comes to."

At New Haven, as in Massachusetts, the education of the masses was not provided for by the town. The law of 1656 required parents to provide for this "either by their own ability and labor or by improving such schoolmaster or other help as the plantation doth afford or the family conveniency provide." Further, courts of magistrates were ordered if "such children or servants may be in danger to grow barbarous, rude and stubborn, [to] take such children or apprentices from such parents or masters and place them for years, boys till they come to the age of one and twenty, and girls till they come to the age of eighteen years, with such others who shall better educate and govern them, both for public conveniency and for the particular good of the said children or apprentices." This practice of binding out children whose parents did not properly instruct them was common throughout the colonies. It applied to children not taught useful labor as well as those not taught their letters. Thus at Boston, in 1656, "it is agreed upon the complaint against the son of Goodwife Samon living without a calling, that if she dispose not of him in some way of employ before the next meeting, that then the townsmen will dispose of him to some service according to law." By a further law in Massachusetts the selectmen were ordered to see "that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach by themselves or others their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws." Here is a case of provision made by a father's will at Essex, in 1647. This will of Luke Heard states, "Also this is my will that my two sons be brought up to writing and reading." Later, bonds were given "that the two children of the said widow which were left unto her by her late husband Luke Heard, of Ipswich, linen-weaver, be well brought up and due means be used to teach them to read and write well, as soon as they are capable."

A somewhat different provision is made by the will of Robert Andrews, also of Ipswich: "Item, concerning my son, Thomas Andrews, my will is that he shall live with his brother, John Andrews, three years, two of which he shall be helpful to his brother John Andrews in his husbandry, and the last of the three years he shall go to school to recover his learning."

Contracts made in binding out children usually provided for their education, as does the indenture of Moses Love, "a minor aged two years and eight months," between the selectmen of Leicester and Matthew Scott, who agreed that he "will, during the term aforesaid, find and provide for the said apprentice sufficient clothing, meat, drink, washing, and lodging, both in sickness and health, and that he will teach him or cause him to be taught to read and write and cypher, fitting his degree, if he be capable of learning, and at the expiration of the term to dismiss him with two suits of apparel, one to be fit for the Lord's day."

That there was need of these laws is shown by Gloucester, where "it is estimated that fully one-half the population in 1664 could neither read nor write." A generation later, also, at Natick, in 1698, a committee which had been inspecting stated: "Here are 59 men and 51 women and 70 children under sixteen years of age. We find no schoolmaster here and only one child that can read." Such a committee of inspection is thus mentioned at Billerica in 1668 in the selectmen's records. "They appoint the next second day to go the rounds to examine the teaching of children and youth according to law."

Here are the results of some similar tours. At Watertown, in 1670, three men were ordered before the selectmen, "and being found defective were admonished for not learning their children to read the English tongue, were convinced, did acknowledge their neglects and promise amendment." The same year "two men were appointed to speak with William

Knop about the education of his daughter and to make return how they find it as to her education and also being kept under restraint and government." The next year this girl seems to have been living with a Thomas Smith, for he was summoned before the selectmen about her, "did acknowledge that the child had not been so well attended in matter of learning as she should have been, and did promise that he would be more careful for the time to come that she shall be learned in the knowledge of reading the English tongue." At the same place, in 1672, a committee reported "that John Fiske's children are neither taught to read nor yet their catechise."

At Salem, in 1673, "as five men neglected to have their children instructed and brought up to some useful employment, our selectmen advertised that such children would be put out to service." At Hadley, in 1677, "Goodman Launcelot Granger of Suffield was presented to the Hampshire court for the neglect of learning his children to read. He appeared at the March court, 1678, and declared he was using the means to learn them to read and promised to do his best, and he was discharged."

Here are two indentures, one of 1677, at Watertown, the other of 1687, in Essex county; it will be noticed that the apprentice in the second is to be taught arithmetic, of which no mention is made in the first. At Watertown a boy was bound out to a Joseph Underwood until he was twenty-one. Underwood agreed "to teach the boy to read and write and some orthodox catechise, and to find him meat, drink, and apparel suitable unto such an apprentice." The second indenture, made by William Baker with reference to an apprentice, Charles Atwood, stated: "Also within the said term, to teach or cause to be taught his said apprentice to read, to write the English tongue sufficiently, and so far in the art of arithmetic as well to do the rule of three, called the golden rule or rule of proportion." This came out in a court trial. One

witness said he was "also to read and write and cast accounts fit to keep a merchant's book."

These apprentices were boys. Less was expected in the case of girls, as is shown by an indenture entered into in the year 1688 by the overseers of the poor of Boston with Ebenezer Prout of Concord. "The subject of the agreement, described as a poor child of the age of nine years, was bound to serve as an apprentice until she became twenty-one years of age or was married. Prout agreed on his part that she should be taught perfectly to read English, sew, spin, and knit as she should be capable. It will be noted that she was to be taught to read, but nothing is said about writing. Of the first planters nearly all the men and some of the women could write, but their sons and grandsons not infrequently signed by making a mark, and during the first three generations it was an unusual accomplishment in a woman to be able to write her name."

It will be noticed that these prosecutions were not for truancy, but were to prevent illiteracy. Parents could teach the rudiments themselves or provide teachers as they preferred. But there would be many cases where the parents were too illiterate to do the teaching themselves, and too poor to pay for the necessary schooling. Very early, indeed, provision was made for such conditions. The Election sermons in Massachusetts constantly pleaded for schools, especially "inferior" schools. Thomas Shepard, in a sermon on "Eye Salve" in 1672, pleaded to have "foundations laid for free schools where poor scholars might be educated by some public stock." In Boston, in 1678, a proposition for "a free school to teach the children of poor people" was referred to the selectmen. In 1682 "the same day it was voted by the inhabitants that the said committee, with the selectmen, consider of and provide one or more free schools for the teaching of children to write and cypher within the town." At Watertown, in 1683, rates had been made for pupils, but

"the town will pay for such children as their parents are unable to pay for, the selectmen being judges." At Braintree, in 1701, there was levied a school tax of twenty shillings, but it was added "that any poor persons in this town who shall send any children to said school and find themselves unable to pay, upon their application to the selectmen it shall be in their power to abate or remit a part or the whole of the above sum."

Similarly, at Boston, in 1703, it was "ordered that a vote be prepared to empower the overseers to advance of the town stock towards teaching the children to read of such parents who are extremely poor." Boston took up the matter of free textbooks, too, quite early, for in 1749 "the selectmen are desired to provide suitable books for that purpose [reading and spelling] at the charge of the town, to be given to such poor children as they may think proper."

Charitable persons also made provision for the poor. Thus at Salem, in 1729, Samuel Brown left two hundred forty pounds, "the interest of one half of this sum to be devoted to the education of poor children in the grammar school, one quarter to be similarly applied for poor children in the English school."

A striking instance of liberality occurred at Marblehead in 1747, where "a school for poor children was established through the generosity of Robert Hooper Jr., who agreed to pay the necessary expenses and the salary of the teacher if the town would fit up and furnish a schoolhouse. The proposal was accepted and the selectmen were instructed to 'fit up the schoolhouse and grant a lease' of it for the purpose."

The schools suffered severely during the Revolution. In many places they were closed entirely, though few towns took the trouble to record the fact. All the money that could be raised was needed for the army. In Bristol there was no school from 1772 to 1781. Manchester, in 1775, voted "to dismiss the town school from this day."

A common vote of the towns was like this at Weare, New Hampshire, in 1775, "Voted to drop the schooling for the present."

Swanzey, New Hampshire, in 1775, voted "to raise twenty pounds for schooling," but later in the year voted "to apply the twenty pounds which was granted to hire schooling this year towards paying the province tax," and in 1776 voted "not to raise any money for schooling," but in 1777 and 1778, however, money was raised and the work went on. At Dover, in 1775, there was a hard struggle between those in favor of keeping the school and those who advocated economy. After it had been voted to keep the school the following petition, with thirty-one signers, was presented: "Whereas it hath been legally voted that a certain sum of money should be raised in this our town for the support of schools, we, the subscribers, humbly petition you, the selectmen, for to call a meeting and to see if the inhabitants of said town will reconsider the vote and let the schools drop this present year for the reason of extraordinary charges other ways." A meeting was called for the last day in July. At the meeting it was recorded: "2ndly, that the vote for school money should be reconsidered by 29 hands and 28 hands against. Then a poll was demanded and granted, and 34 was for reconsidering said vote and Capt. Jonathan Gage said he was therefor but passed not through to be told by the selectmen as usual, and 33 was told against it and two more afterwards appeared against it, the selectmen said. Then a second poll was granted and the moderator and clerk told them, 37 for reconsidering said vote, and 37 against it, the moderator added to one side and the clerk to the other, made the poll 38 each. Then a request for a third poll was made but not granted. Then a vote was whether the meeting should be adjourned; a few hands for it and about double the number against it. Then after some talk on the legality of a moderator adjourning a town meeting without a vote

therefor, he declared the meeting adjourned to Monday the 7th of August, next, at 4 o'clock P.M." On August 7 it was voted, "nemine contradicente, that there be no schools this present year, 10 being the number of hands therefor, and then the meeting was dissolved by the moderator."

Similarly, at Sandwich, in 1778, a proposal to raise money for schools was defeated, "the necessities of the war being greater than the needs of education."

Schools were sometimes closed for other reasons than lack of money. Here is a reference to a memorable day at Boston, from the diary of John Tileston: "March 6, 1775; there was an elegant and spirited oration delivered at the old south meetinghouse by Dr. Joseph Warren. Broke up school at 10 o'clock. Did n't keep in the afternoon."

In spite of war and occupation by the British, Boston showed her traditional respect for education. In 1776 "the selectmen took into consideration the expediency of opening schools in the town, whereupon voted that the grammar school in School St. be opened." Two writing schools were also opened. The next month "the town clerk is directed to give the crier a notification that the writing school in the Common will be opened for the reception of children on Monday next at the usual hours in the forenoon and afternoon, by order of the selectmen, and that the same be published on Saturday next from the town house to the fortification."

After the Revolution the work was again taken up by the towns, gradually, of course, and as prosperity increased education made rapid progress. Opportunities for primary education were especially improved, and more and more attention was paid to the education of the poor. Roxbury is a case in point. In 1790 it was stated: "The provision the town have heretofore been pleased to make for the support of their schools, has, we believe, operated equally in most parts of the town, notwithstanding which we find that in some

instances the children of poor parents have been obliged to neglect the opportunities of acquiring learning because their parents are unable to pay a small proportion towards the maintenance of the school; this is a peculiar misfortune which if possible ought to be remedied." A committee was appointed, which reported later in the year. The pith of the matter was that the selectmen, on application of the district committees, were empowered to draw on the town treasury "for such sums as shall appear to them absolutely necessary to defray the charge of educating poor people's children, over and above the sums heretofore granted by the town towards the support of said schools, not exceeding the sum of 40 shillings to any one school."

XVIII

SCHOOLROOM AND PUPILS

The furnishings and equipment of the early schools were scanty in the extreme. Often there was absolutely nothing but a plank supported on barrels or stakes for the desk, and seats made of slabs supported by sticks thrust into auger holes. The arrangements at Dorchester, in 1652, must have been very elaborate for that time. "The feoffees have agreed with Mr. Daniel Weld . . . that he provide convenient benches with forms and tables for the scholars to sit on and to write at, with a convenient seat for the schoolmaster, and a desk to put the dictionary on, and shelves to lay up books, and keep the house and windows and doors with the chimney sufficient and proper, and there shall be added to his yearly stipend due by the book, the rent of the school land, being four pounds the year, he having promised the feoffees to free them of the labor of gathering up the particulars of the contributions and they to stand by in case any be refractory."

A rather curious item comes from Hingham: "One quaint charge was that of Nehemiah Leavett, a blacksmith in Hingham, 'for a pair of tongues for the schoolhouse in the second parish.' This was a pair of tongs to manipulate the logs in the open fireplace. These tongs suggest many more rude implements of that primitive culture. An hour-glass was used for keeping the time, and the seats were wooden benches without backs and without any desks. At the noon hour in winter the scholars from a distance ate their cold lunches of 'rye 'n' Injun' bread while gathered about the fireplace, perhaps warming mince-pie and bottles of milk upon the hearth."

The arrangements at Farmington, Connecticut, in 1688, are thus detailed: "Around the wall on all sides ran a wide

board nailed up at a convenient angle. In front for a seat was a rough slab, sawed side upwards, supported on legs driven into auger holes and often projecting above them, to the no small discomfort of the occupants. The whole arrangement was exceedingly simple. If a class was called on to recite, there was no complex marching out to music, but each child, swinging his feet over the seat, dropped them down on the other side, and the class at once sat facing the teacher, ready for recitation. Recitation over, they swung their feet back again and study went on as before."

How late such conditions lasted is seen by this entry at Boston in 1783, "Mr. Vinal has liberty to have a closet built in his school to keep his globes in."

In many places the pupils had to see that the fire was built early enough to have the schoolroom warm. At Upneck, Hartford, in 1811, "the boys in turn, for a week or for a few days, were required to open the house, sweep it out, make the fire, and put it in order for the day." At Newport, in a higher school, Channing states: "Our schoolroom had to be swept and dusted twice or thrice a week, and the class were obliged to do this in turn. As this was a disagreeable task those boys who had money could easily buy substitutes from among the poorer boys." Deacon Hawes, apparently to avoid having it to do himself, "set at auction who would make the fire cheapest, say for one month, which would go at about one cent a day."

Here are two glimpses at the pupils of early times. A master at London, New Hampshire, about 1790 writes: "My school consisted of about 40 pupils. It was composed of both sexes and of all ages. Most of the children under 10 years of age wore leather aprons, reaching from their chins to their ankles. These aprons after being worn a little time became striped and shining with bean porridge, which in winter made the principal food of the children. Many of the little girls took snuff; it was the fashion." Similarly,

Mrs. Haynes relates of Sudbury: "The boys wore leather aprons and breeches. For dinner they used to fetch sausage or a slice of pork and a crust of bread, sharpen a stick and broil it over the coals, making plenty of grease spots. The girls wore short loose gowns and skirts and thick leather shoes and woolen stockings. They wore blankets over their heads or their mothers' old cloaks. In the summer they wore gown and skirt and cape bonnet, with bare feet. You might as soon look for a white bear as to see shoes on children in summer time."

When the studies were entirely language studies, and were taught strictly *memoriter*, pupils often reached college or completed their education at a surprisingly early age. Thus President Stiles's diary, which begins in 1769, states, "Ezra Stiles began to learn Hebrew about this time, aged ten." The grammar school was entered by boys of eight, as this extract shows: "I, John Barnard, was born at Boston November 6, 1681. My parents were respectable and very pious and charitable. In the spring of the eighth year I was sent to the grammar school. My master was the aged and famous Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, and well he merited the fame so heartily given him. I have many interesting memories of him. He placed me in the lowest class, but finding that I soon read through my books, he put me after a few weeks into a higher class, and the next year made me the head of it."

Benjamin Franklin also went to the grammar school at the same age. "I was put to the grammar school at eight years of age, my father intending as an offering to God to make me a minister of the church. My readiness in learning to read must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read. Later my father sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic. I learned good writing pretty soon but failed in the arithmetic. At ten years of age I was taken home to help my father in his business." At his age a failure in arithmetic might be considered very pardonable.

Another precocious pupil was Samuel Kneeland, who says: "When I was three years old, I was sent to school to a mistress, where I learned to read with great dispatch; in my fifth year I was taken away and put to a writing master; in my seventh year I could flourish a tolerable hand and began my grammar. By the time that I was fourteen, I was considerably proficient in the Latin and Greek languages, and was admitted to Harvard College."

Yet, in spite of such examples of precocity, the waste of time in most of the schools must have been atrocious. Here is a record of Boston schools in 1789: "Until eleven years old, all the pupils did in a whole forenoon or afternoon was to write one page in a copy-book, not exceeding ten lines. When they began to cypher it rarely happened that they performed more than two sums in the simplest rules. These were set in the pupil's manuscript and the operation was there recorded by him. No printed book was used. Such writing and cyphering, however, were too much for one day, and boys who cyphered did so every other day." Edward Everett states, "To write a page in a copy-book, and to do a few sums, as it was called, in the elementary rules of arithmetic, was half a day's work in the writing school."

Scholars who sought to pass away the time in work brought from home were thus forbidden at Marlborough, New Hampshire, in 1797, when it was voted "that no child be permitted to bring any work to school of any kind." Framingham also, in 1800, made the rule "that no work be allowed to be done in women's schools except the art of lettering," that is, making samplers.

Then, as now, wonderful tales of the results attained in Europe reached this country, and fired the imagination of the laity. Witness this from Boston in 1711: "A memorial offered to the town at this meeting by the selectmen, being as followeth; Whereas according to the information of some of the learned who have made observation of the easy and

pleasant rules and methods used in some schools in Europe, where scholars perhaps within the compass of one year have attained a competent proficiency so as to be able to read and discourse in Latin, and of themselves capable to make considerable progress therein, and that according to the methods used here very many hundreds of boys in this town, who by their parents were never designed for a more liberal education, have spent two, three, four years or more of their more early days at the Latin school, which have proved of very little or no benefit as to their after accomplishment; it is therefore proposed to the town that they would recommend it to those gentlemen whom they shall choose as inspectors of the schools, together with the ministers of the town, to consider whether in this town, where the free school is maintained chiefly by a town rate on the inhabitants, that supposing the former more tedious and burdensome method may be thought the best for such as are designed for scholars, which is by some questioned, yet for the sake and benefit of others, who usually are the greater number by far in such schools, whether it might not be advisable that some more easy and delightful method be there attended and put in practise, and to signify to the town their thoughts therein in order to the encouragement of the same." It was so voted.

Evidently the committee could not transplant the wonderful method, and, so far as we know, no one in the United States has yet learned to discourse in Latin in one year.

Much more comforting, to a teacher at least, is the closing part of this passage in the Roxbury report of 1790, which states, "In each of said schools the scholars are taught to spell, and read the English language, and to speak with propriety; writing, arithmetic, with *such branches of human knowledge as their respective capacities are capable of imbibing.*"

XIX

ARITHMETIC IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND

In the early schools arithmetic was not a large subject. It seems to have entered not by law but by popular demand. In the first educational laws, reading and writing were emphasized as the essentials.

In 1642 the Massachusetts Bay Colony authorized the selectmen of the various towns to find out the ability of children "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country."

Under this law, towns, by their selectmen or by special committees, frequently examined the children. It is recorded in Watertown, in 1679, "Agreed by the selectmen that they would go to and fro through the town, to see that all children be taught to read the English tongue and some orthodox catechise." In Billerica, in 1681, there is this record, "The townsmen do agree that Lieut. Will French and Ralph Hill, Senior, do take care and examine the several families in our town, whether their children and servants are taught in the precepts of religion, in reading and learning the catechism."

Under this law the selectmen could do more than examine; they could take children away from negligent parents and bind them out. In Watertown, in 1679, a boy was bound out to one Joseph Underwood until he became twenty-one. Underwood agreed "to teach the boy to read and write and some orthodox catechise." There is no arithmetic in this law and its applications.

The Massachusetts Bay law of 1647 says that towns "after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders shall then forthwith appoint one within their

town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read."

And in 1663 the Court of Plymouth Colony proposed unto the several townships within its jurisdiction "as a thing they ought to take into their serious consideration, that some course may be taken that in every town there may be a schoolmaster set up to train up children in reading and writing." There is no arithmetic here.

The New Haven Colony law of 1656 compelled parents and masters to see "that their children and apprentices should be taught to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable books in the English tongue, being their natural language, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of the Christian religion necessary to salvation." There is no arithmetic here.

In 1660 the Reverend Mr. Davenport recommended that the law be extended so that "all boys should be learned to write a legible hand as soon as they are capable, and that they should also be taught to cast up accounts competently and should make some entrance into the Latin tongue." The town accepted the writing but rejected the Latin and arithmetic.

Again, in 1663, some one remarked in the town meeting "that arithmetic was very necessary in these parts," but again the town refused to add it to the studies. Soon after 1700, however, when a colony grammar school had been established and the pupils were divided into English boys and Latin boys, the English boys were taught "to perfect their right spelling and reading, and to write, and cypher in numeration and addition and *no further*."

Towns newly formed by the General Court frequently received in their articles of incorporation directions relative to schools. For instance, when Easton was incorporated, in 1725, it was ordered "to procure and maintain a schoolmaster to instruct their youth in writing and reading." There is no arithmetic here.

The requirements for entrance to Harvard College in 1647 were to "read Tully or such classical Latin author extempore, and speak true Latin in verse and prose, and decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue." There is no arithmetic here. In fact it was one of the senior-year studies in the college, where, in "the third year at the 10th hour, Arithmetic and Geometry [were taken] the three first quarters, Astronomy the last."

In these early days there were two kinds of schools — the so-called grammar schools, fitting for college, of which the Boston Latin School was a type, and the English schools, corresponding in grade to our present elementary schools, and teaching at first only reading and writing.

These Latin grammar schools do not mention arithmetic at first. The Salem Latin School began in 1637, and its studies were "English, Latin, Greek, good manners and the principles of the Christian Religion." It was not until 1699, two generations later, that "writing, *cyphering* and reading" are mentioned. The study is not generally recognized by the early historians. Neal, in his "History of New England," about 1700, says: "Hardly a child of nine or ten years old, throughout the whole country, but can read and write, and say his catechism." There is no arithmetic here.

Yet, in spite of the fact that it is not mentioned in law, or in selectmen's examinations, or in Harvard requirements, or in some of the Latin school courses, arithmetic, as "cypher-ing" or "casting of accounts," is frequently mentioned in the early records of many towns, in their agreements with the schoolmasters.

As early as 1653 Dedham had a schoolmaster who agreed "to teach to read English and the 'Accidence,' and to write and the knowledge and art of arithmetic and the rules and practise thereof." Their records do not mention the subject again for ten years, and then it reappears and is found in all future agreements.

Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1649, had a schoolmaster "to teach to write and read and cast accounts, *if it be desired.*" "Casting accounts" was a part of the schoolmaster's duties in Marlborough in 1696.

Sandwich, in 1699, appropriated ten pounds for a schoolmaster, "he to teach reading, writing and arithmetic." Yarmouth mentions the subject in 1711, Newton in 1701, Newbury in 1691. In 1700 Muddy River, then a part of Boston (now Brookline), petitioned for a schoolmaster "to teach to write and cypher"; this was granted, and Rumney Marsh (now Chelsea) put in a similar petition. This latter school was not founded until 1709, but that arithmetic was taught in it is proved by a document in the possession of the late Mellen Chamberlain, which is "an account of the scholars entered at the school in Rumney Marsh, for reading, writing and cyphering, for the two last quarters, ending Feb'y 5, 1714," rendered to the selectmen of Boston by Thomas Cheever, schoolmaster. "Cyphering" was a part of Boston's school work in 1645. A special committee in Sudbury, in 1680, reporting on the educational situation, says: "And as for schools, though there be no stated school in this town for teaching to write or to cypher, here is Mr. Thomas Walker and two or three others about the town that do teach therein, and are ready to teach all others that need, if people will come or send them." And in 1702 they had a schoolmaster to "teach all children sent to him to learn English and the Latin tongue, also writing and the art of arithmetic."

A Plymouth town meeting, in 1674, ordered that "due attention be paid to reading, writing and arithmetic." Swansea, in 1673, "set up a school for rhetoric, arithmetic, Latin, Greek and Hebrew." Hingham, in 1670, made a contract with a schoolmaster that "he will teach and instruct in Latin, Greek, and English, in writing and arithmetic." And Haverhill, in 1685, made an agreement with a schoolmaster "to endeavor to teach such as shall resort to him, as they shall desire, to

read or write or cypher or all of them." Note the expression "as they shall desire."

From such records it is evident that arithmetic was taught, but it was optional; evidently it was chosen from the utilitarian point of view. Medford, in 1794, had "so much arithmetic as shall fit them for the common transactions of life." The "Rule of Three," that is, simple proportion, was the limit; few went beyond "vulgar fractions." In a town meeting held in Boston, October 16, 1789, three writing schools were established, and it was voted "that in these schools the children of both sexes shall be taught writing and also arithmetic in the various branches of it usually taught in the town schools, including vulgar and decimal fractions."

Some idea of the value attached to the subject may be gained from another point of view. In those days the schools were not free in the sense in which we use the term to-day; pupils paid according to the studies taken. These tuition rates varied in different places. Newbury, in 1691, had this: "Readers free, Latin 6 pence per week, writing and cyphering 4 pence per week." Newton, in 1701, charged fourpence per week for ciphering, and on the Cape the rates were: "Reading 3 pence per week, reading and writing 5 pence per week, reading, writing and arithmetic 6 pence per week." Lynn, in 1702, charged twopence per week for reading, threepence per week for writing and ciphering, and sixpence per week for Latin. Arithmetic cost only one third or one half as much as other studies. In public estimation, marked by its cost price, it was accounted the least of the "Three R's."

Indeed, many towns do not mention the subject in their records for a generation or two after they began their schools. I will cite but two or three illustrations. Deerfield, for more than a generation, voted for schoolmasters to teach reading and writing, but it was not until 1722 that one was named to teach ciphering, and in 1724 one was chosen "to learn youth to read and cypher." Wenham's first school for reading and

writing was about 1700, but "cyphering" was not added until 1742. There is an abundance of such records, seeming to indicate either that the subject was not taught at all or that it was not of sufficient importance to be recorded. In the work that was done there were no books for over one hundred years and the instruction was very limited, in quality as well as quantity.

At Lynn, in 1713, "no arithmetic was used by the scholars but the master wrote all the sums on the slate." Deacon Joseph Hawes, who went to school at Yarmouth just before the Revolution, in an account of his school days, written about 1830, after telling how the master "set the sums," gives this picture of the method: "The most forward in arithmetic might do one or two sums in a day, if they could do them without the master's assistance: he gave me one sum in the single rule of three which I could not resolve for two or three days. After requesting him a number of times to inform me, he would reply he had no time, and I must study for the answer." After the Revolutionary War the good deacon became a schoolmaster himself and taught until 1820. This was his method, *with books:* "Those in arithmetic having books of different authors got their own sums, wrote off their own rules &c. If they wanted to make inquiries concerning questions, I would direct them to stand up and read the question, and if the scholar next him could show him, I would request him to; if not, if I had time, I would explain to him the principles by which the sum was to be done. If he then met with difficulty, I directed him to take it home and study late at night, to have his answer in the morning." The Reverend Isaac Braman, who was born in Norton in 1770 and went to school just after the Revolution, says: "In the study of arithmetic, no scholar was allowed a book. The teacher would give him a sum, and he might sit and study upon it until he had found an answer, which would sometimes occupy several days."

One more bit of ancient testimony will suffice. This is from Mrs. Israel Haynes, who went to school in Sudbury just after the Revolution. She says, "Those that studied arithmetic, the master wrote down the rules and sums in their books, and then they had birch bark split to do their sums on instead of slates."

As I have said, all this arithmetic was optional until the law of 1789 added it to the compulsory studies, together with the English language, orthography, and decent behavior.

Where an arithmetic was used, it was generally Hodder's, until, in 1788, one Nicholas Pike of Newburyport published the first generally used American arithmetic, a ponderous volume of some five hundred and twelve pages, abounding in rules and arithmetical puzzles. The terms used are frequently unintelligible to the present generation. This is the rule for "Tare and Trett," "Deduct the tare and trett, divide the suttle by 168 and the quotient will be the cloff, which subtract from the suttle and the remainder will be the neat." Bonnycastle's Arithmetic, London, 1780, has the same rule, with the added phrase, "Divide the suttle by 168 as in *compound division*."

The definitions accompanying this rule are as follows:

"Trett is an allowance of four pounds in every 104 pounds for waste, dust &c. Cloff is an allowance of two pounds upon every three hundredweight. Suttle is when part of the allowance is deducted from the gross. Neat weight is what remains after all allowances are made."

This book of Pike's was the gem puzzle of its generation, the forbear of all that divine essence of arithmetic in which our fathers and grandfathers reveled.

The first hundred and fifty years were years of freedom, followed by nearly a century when to "cypher through the arithmetic" was the acme of a pupil's ambition, and its accomplishment the sign of prodigious knowledge. It was the nineteenth-century school fetish.

XX

OTHER STUDIES

Aside from Latin grammar, work was done in reading, writing, ciphering, spelling, and the catechism. Pupils took some but not all of these — generally reading, writing, the catechism, and spelling. Reading was the fundamental study. In the earliest times it was considered to be the only one needed by girls, except perhaps the catechism.

Locke makes the statement, "The method of schools in England in teaching children to read has been to adhere to 'the ordinary road of the hornbook, primer, Psalter, Testament and Bible.'" Littlefield, in his "Early Schools and Schoolbooks of New England," gives the same order with a few additional details. Speaking of the English schools he says: "Reading according to Brinsley, 1612, was taught, first, by hornbook alphabets; second, by the ABC or as we should say spelling; third, by the primer, that is, prayers and religious exercises put forth by royal authority; fourth, by the psalms and meter; fifth, by the Testament; sixth, by the School of Virtue, and the School of Good Manners."

Naturally New England schools followed similar lines. The Bible, especially the Psalter and New Testament, was the universal reading book. The hornbooks, from which beginners learned their ABC's, contained the alphabet, with a few rudiments, on one page, covered as Cowper says "with thin, translucent horn," to keep them from being soiled. When the hornbook was mastered it was followed by the New England Primer, and the pupil was then ready for the Psalter. At times a spelling book intervened, as at Sturbridge in 1754. "The usual course of study at this time

was first the New England Primer and Dilworth's spelling book; then the Psalter, which was the principal reading book, but in order to give the youthful powers of elocution their finishing touch they were exercised on the first book of Chronicles, the tenth chapter of Nehemiah, or wherever else the teacher could find a page of pure Hebrew names."

Deacon Hawes, speaking of the same period, states that after the morning prayer "the Bible class was then called out to read one chapter, standing in a half circle behind the master. He would meantime be employed making pens, &c., while each scholar would mention the number and read one verse, while some might be playing pins and others matching coppers. Then the Psalter class read in the same manner. I know of no other books then in the schools." Braman writes to the same effect: "In my early days no book was used in school except the Bible and spelling book. There were respectable aged persons who could not read." And at Raymond, New Hampshire, in 1771, "the schools were then held about ten weeks in a year. Reading was taught principally from the Psalter. . . . Writing was on birchbark or paper but a little better."

A generation later, in 1812, we have this reminiscence of the Mather School at Dorchester: "In it, the elder Deacon Humphreys tells us, there were three classes, the lowest being known as the Psalter class, the intermediate as the Testament class, and the highest as the Bible class. Those who made up this last division had the distinction of being allowed to read two chapters at the beginning and close of the school day, but were made to pay for this privilege by being obliged to spell all the words contained in these two chapters and to write and cypher." A brief notice states that this method prevailed in Boston in 1789. "In the reading schools the course was for every child to read one verse in the Bible or a short paragraph of the Third Part." The "Third Part" was a portion of Noah Webster's "Institute."

W. F. Stearns of Amherst College thus describes the vigorous method employed by a teacher at Bedford, about 1800: "The master pointed with his pen-knife to the first three letters and said 'that's A, that's B, that's C; now take your seat and I will call you by and by, and if you can't tell them I will cut your ears right off with this knife.'"

A gentler method is related in the reminiscences of Henry K. Oliver, of Boston. About 1805, when five years old, he was sent to a private school kept by "Old Mr. Hayslop." "By him I was taught my A,B,C,D,E,F,G, my a,b,abs, and my e,b,ebs, after the old way — praised because ancestral — the old gentleman holding an old book in his old hand, and pointing with an old pin to the old letters on the old page, and making each of us chicks repeat their several names till we could tell them at sight, though we did n't know what it was all for."

It may be worth while to quote from Deacon Hawes his own method of teaching reading, since we have quoted his criticism of his own teachers. "The first and last hours were generally spent in reading, the middle hours in writing. Those in arithmetic would read with the others when they pleased. Having only one class in school, every scholar at my word 'next,' would arise and read in his seat till I pronounced the word 'next,' and I often stopped him in the middle of a verse. After reading around I would order another book more proper for the scholars present, as before, and thus in four or five different books till the hour expired." "While they were writing in the second form, I would hear the little ones read alone, who could not read in classes. Seventeen was the greatest number I ever had of them."

Later, when other books besides the Bible were used, we have this description, from the Up-neck district at Hartford: "The books used were the Columbian Orator, the American Preceptor, and the Introduction, as it was called, for reading books. Occasionally the scholars would read in the Bible,

one verse at a time, one jumping up as the other sat down, the sense and benefit of the reading being wholly destroyed by the blundering and hesitancy over the hard words."

As a general summing up of the conditions that prevailed we may quote Burton: "The principal requisites in reading, in these days, were to read fast, mind the 'stops and marks' and speak up loud. As for suiting the tone to the meaning, no such thing was dreamed of, in our school at least. As much emphasis was laid on an insignificant *of* or *and* as on the most important word in the piece. But no wonder we did not know how to vary our tones, for we did not always know the meaning of the words or enter into the general spirit of the composition. This was very frequently, indeed almost always the case with the majority, even of the first class. . . . It scarcely ever entered the heads of our teachers to question us about the ideas hidden in the great long words and spacious sentences. It is possible that they did not always discover it themselves. 'Speak up there, and not read like a mouse in a cheese, and mind your stops,' . . . such were the principal directions respecting the important art of elocution. Important it was most certainly considered; for each class must read twice in the forenoon and the same in the afternoon, from a quarter to a half hour each time according to the size of the class. Had they read but once or twice, and but little at a time, and this with nice and very profitable attention to tone and sense, parents would have thought the master most miserably deficient in duty, and their children cheated out of their rights. . . . It ought not to be omitted that the Bible, particularly the New Testament, was the reading twice a day generally, for all the classes adequate to words of more than one syllable. It was the reading of several of the younger classes under some teachers. As far as my own experience and observation tended, reverence for the sacred volume was not deepened by this constant but exceedingly careless use."

Connected with the reading was the spelling. In the earliest days this was unknown as a separate study. Deacon Hawes states that "when the spelling book was first introduced the good old ladies appeared to fear that religion would be banished from the world." But at Boston, in 1719, many years earlier, among the directions given the masters was this, "That proper seasons be stated and set apart for the encouragement of good spelling." Thirty years later the admonition was repeated when it was "voted that the selectmen for the time being be and hereby are desired to recommend to the masters of the schools that they instruct their scholars in reading and spelling."

The early spelling books were English: Fenning's, Moore's, Dilworth's, and Perry's. These were used previous to the Revolution. Dilworth's was called "A New Guide to the English Tongue," and contained not only grammar and reading lessons but several forms of prayer. Perry's was called "The Only Sure Guide to the English Tongue."

A peculiar method of teaching spelling was that adopted by Mr. Clark Rodman of Newport, as described by Channing. "His manner of conducting the spelling was original. The word being given out, followed by a blow from a strap on his desk, the whole class simultaneously would bellow out the word,—say the word multiplication,—properly divided. His ear was so true, that he easily detected any misspelling. When this happened he would demand the name of the scholar who had failed. If there was any hesitancy in giving the name, the whole class, instead of being dismissed, was detained until by repeated trials accuracy was obtained. So many voices upon a single word in so many keys produced an amusing jingle, which invariably attracted to the spot all passers-by."

Not only spelling but geography, history, and English grammar seem to have been direct descendants of the reading lesson. As the Bible ceased to be the sole textbook and

as the desire for a broader education increased, readers of various kinds were produced, which more or less covered the knowledge desired, and in time the new subjects became distinct branches of education. In many places there was great opposition to this additional burden.

A letter from Noah Webster to Henry Barnard, written in 1840 and referring to the early schools, gives some interesting particulars of the new textbooks. "When I was young or before the Revolution . . . the books used were chiefly or wholly Dilworth's spelling book, the Psalter, Testament and Bible. No geography was studied before the publication of Dr. Morse's small books on the subject, about the year 1786 or 1787. No history was read as far as my knowledge extends, for there was no abridged history of the United States. Except the books above mentioned no book for reading was used before the publication of the third part of my Institute in 1785. In some of the early editions of that book I introduced short notes of the geography and history of the United States and these led to more enlarged descriptions of the country. In 1788, at the request of Dr. Morse, I wrote an account of the transactions in the United States after the Revolution, which account fills nearly twenty pages in the first volume of his octavo editions. Before the Revolution and for some years after, no slates were used in the common schools, all writing and the operations in arithmetic were on paper; the teacher wrote the copies and gave the sums in arithmetic, few or none of the pupils having any books as a guide.

"The introduction of my spelling book, first published in 1783, produced a great change in the department of spelling, and from the information I can gain, spelling was taught with more care and accuracy for twenty years or more after that period than it has been since the introduction of multiplied books and studies. No English grammar was generally taught in the common schools when I was young, except that in Dilworth and that to no good purpose."

Littlefield says of the Morse geography: "Morse's Geography Made Easy, 1784, was the first American geography. His abridgment began to be a reading book at the year 1800. When geography began to be read in our public schools, and class books were read long before any lessons were recited or any maps used, Mr. Brigham prepared the small astronomical and geographical catechism based upon Dr. Morse's school geography which was read occasionally by the highest class in the Boston reading schools. Many copies of the catechism were sold, over a hundred thousand, and meager though it was, it was the only book used, and was recited literally without any explanation or illustration by teacher or pupil."

Another popular series of textbooks was that written by Caleb Bingham, a graduate of Dartmouth in 1782. He issued six in all, and they had a remarkable sale. The "Young Ladies' Accidence" passed through twenty editions, and there were issued not less than a hundred thousand copies. Of the "Child's Companion," about a hundred and eighty thousand were sold; of the "American Preceptor," six hundred and forty thousand; of the "Columbian Orator," about a hundred and ninety thousand; of the "Youthful Catechism," a hundred thousand; of "Juvenile Letters," twenty-five thousand; in all, one million two hundred fifty thousand.

As nowadays, new subjects suffered for lack of competent instruction. Thus at Oxford, in 1780, James Butler stated "he learned grammar from one Shumway, while the other children, his brothers and sisters, were the scholars of a Dr. Walker, who for fear of betraying his own ignorance would never let them parse." At Boston, in 1789, "in grammar the custom was to recite six or more lines once a fortnight and to go through the book three times before any application of it was made to what was called parsing." At Woodstock, Vermont, about 1700, "the play and idle time for the school, so to speak, was when the large grammar class was parsing. To this exercise the teacher gave an hour, leaning

back in his chair meanwhile, with feet placed on the table, and during the exercise, the rest of the school might leave their seats, exchange articles, and do various other things without asking permission."

English grammar was not considered essential to a girl's education, as, at Portsmouth, in a girls' private school, "Mr. Dearborn wanted to get up a class in grammar but could only prevail upon six scholars to join. Many persons thought it an unnecessary branch for misses to attend to. The grammars were obtained from Boston. I have mine still, bought in March, 1781." And so late as 1820, at Glastenbury, Connecticut, there was a unanimous vote of the Board of Visitors "that the several instructors of the district schools in this society be directed to instruct the children in their respective schools in the rudiments of literature, religion, morals and manners; particularly in a knowledge of spelling, reading and writing, and they are directed not to instruct the children in arithmetic, grammar and geography during regular school hours." And in 1828 a pamphlet issued in Connecticut states: "Spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic are taught in nearly every school. Geography and grammar have within a few years been introduced very extensively, but in many places not without great opposition. Even arithmetic until within a few years was excluded from many schools during the day, and only permitted to be taught in the evening schools. Grammar and geography were opposed, but with less violence."

Burton's description of the methods of teaching writing is applicable to the schools of nearly two centuries. He began his writing at nine years of age. "I had bought me a new birch ruler, and had given a third of my wealth, four cents, for it. To this I had appended, by a well-twisted flaxen string, a plummet of my own running, whittling and scraping. I had hunted up an old pewter inkstand which had come down from the ancestral eminence of my great-grandfather,

for aught I know. . . . I had selected one of the fairest quills out of an enormous bunch. Half a quire of foolscap had been folded into the shape of a writing book by the maternal hand, and covered with brown paper, nearly as thick as sheepskin. . . . At the proper time my writing book, which with my quill I had handed to the master on entering, was returned to me, with a copy set and paper ruled and pen made. . . . The first winter I splashed two, and the next three writing books with inky puddles in learning coarse hand; and after all I had gained not much in penmanship. . . . The third winter I commenced small hand. . . . Some of our teachers were accustomed to spend a few minutes, forenoon and afternoon, in going round among the writers to see that they held the pen properly, and took a decent degree of pains. But the majority of them, according to present recollections, never stirred from the desk to superintend this branch. . . . Some of the teachers set the copies at home in the evening, but most set them in school. Six hours per day were all that custom required of a teacher; of course half an hour at home spent in the matters of the school would have been time and labor not paid for, and a gratuity not particularly expected."

Deacon Hawes, who has been so often quoted, states, "The master would be writing copies, setting sums, making and mending pens, &c., while nearly all the scholars would be playing or idle." When he became a teacher, he says: "I gave out the copies and made as many mend their pens as could. If they had no inkstands, which was the case with many, I would send one after shells and put cotton therein. The ink I found and charged it to the school. . . . When I dismissed the school I would examine each one's writing."

In the early days paper was very costly and of poor quality. At Dover, in 1777, the master "charged five shillings for a quire of writing paper." Even in 1775, at Sanbornton, "some of the scholars wrote upon birch bark."

The age at which pupils should begin to write was fixed at Framingham, in 1825, thus: "That no scholar shall be allowed to write at any school under the age of ten years, unless the district vote otherwise." Boston, in 1789, fixed the age at which pupils should begin the making of pens, one of the chief duties of the old-time schoolmaster. Children "should begin to learn arithmetic at eleven years of age, — at twelve they should be taught to make pens." But the first master at Dorchester, in 1639, was treated with a noble liberality so far as penmanship was concerned. "Where he is bound to teach to write, it shall be left to his liberty in that point of teaching to write, only to do what he can conveniently therein."

The old-fashioned "singing skewl," so often imitated today as a means of entertainment, was occasionally supported by the town. These schools were not for children but for adults, and their purpose was largely to improve the church singing. At first they were sustained by private subscription, but "when their efficiency was recognized, supported by the town." Hatfield and Hadley had such schools in 1768 and 1771. "Singing schools were held sometimes in private houses and sometimes in the meetinghouse."

Northampton, in 1791, voted to employ a singing master "to instruct the singers in the art of Psalmody for three months." He was paid three pounds for his services. "From this time onward the singing master became a fixture and frequent items for his payment may be found in the record of town expenses." In 1794, in answer to a petition "praying that a teacher of music might be employed at the public charge," the selectmen were directed, "if they think necessary, to hire a singing master at the expense of the town." In 1795 "Elias Mann was employed by the town to teach singing school, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday evenings during the months of December and January. He was paid twenty-six dollars for his services and was to lead the singing

on the Sabbath." He must have been successful, for in 1798 "Mr. Mann was again hired to conduct the singing school two days in a week from November to May, for which he was to be paid fifty dollars." In 1800 the usual vote to hire a singing master for two months was passed.

Sudbury, in 1797, "granted thirty dollars for the purpose of teaching a singing school for one month." In 1801 a committee was appointed by the town to get a singing master and to regulate the singing society. Sessions were held in the schoolhouses of the different districts. "Ten dollars was granted that year to pay the master." In 1802 the town voted "to have Dr. Belknap's Psalms and Hymns introduced and made use of in the singing society." In 1821 twenty dollars were allowed for the society, and the next year thirty dollars.

Other towns that have preserved records of singing schools are Brookline, Medfield, and Northfield. Brookline, in 1804, "voted that the sum of sixty dollars be granted and is hereby granted for the purpose of hiring a singing master the ensuing winter." Similar appropriations for singing were made for many years. At Medfield, in 1804, "an article was inserted in the town meeting warrant to see if the town would appropriate a sum of money for the support of a singing school. Negatived at this time, though a few years afterwards such appropriations were made." At Northfield "in some years the town voted to hire a master to instruct in reading, writing and singing for one month in addition to the usual winter school."

Vocational education is one of the latest ideas in pedagogy, but there are some traces of it in early times. Spinning was the precise form that appealed to our ancestors, though we must not forget that sewing was one of the important studies in the girls' schools. The first reference to the teaching of spinning is rather obscure. It comes from Cambridge, in 1656, when five men were "nominated and

appointed by the selectmen to execute the order of the General Court for the improvement of all the families within the limits of the town, in spinning and clothing, and each of the said persons are to see to the execution of the said order in their respective quarters of the town."

In 1720, at Boston, owing to the great number of Scotch-Irish immigrants, who were largely spinners by trade, a town meeting was called to consider the advisability of setting up a spinning school. It was voted "that the town will proceed to the choice of a committee to consider about promoting of a spinning school or schools, for the instruction of the children of this town in spinning, as is expressed in the warrant for the calling of this meeting, to be seven in number." Some months later the committee reported: "[1. Some considerations about building.] 2. That if the town do not see cause to build, they may hire a house for that use and employ some suitable person that is a weaver, having a wife that can instruct children in spinning flax, to take care of the school, the town supplying them with money for a time on good security, that they may be provided with flax for the use of such children as shall be sent to them by the overseers of the poor. 3. That such children as the town sends to learn the art of spinning, the town pay for their subsistence the first three months and the master have the benefit of their work, but from that time they be allowed by the master of the house what they shall earn for their support. 4. That if any poor people will of themselves send their children to learn, the master be obliged to teach them on the same terms as if they were sent by the overseers of the poor. 5. That the town provide twenty spinning-wheels for such children as shall be sent on the town's account, which may be always kept for that number, and if after they have been fully instructed their parents take them home, they shall spin for the master of the school at a set price. 6. That a premium be allowed by the town of five pounds for the best piece of

linen spun and wove here, provided it be worth four shillings per yard, as adjudged by the overseers. 7. That if the town do not see cause either to build or hire a house, they may yet give encouragement to such as will set up a school, by allowing them two or three hundred pounds on good security without interest, that they may be enabled to promote so good an undertaking, which we conceive will be a very great advantage to us." The report was printed and put over to the annual meeting. Later the school was built and there was much interest, but it did not flourish.

Likewise the records of Charlestown in 1754 read, "That the old town house be improved for a spinning school and the sum of fifty pounds, old tenor, and no more, to repair the same for that purpose."

The project was revived in Boston in 1769, as we learn from the report of a committee. This school also was intended for poor children. "Your committee are therefore of opinion that it would answer a very valuable purpose if a number of schools were set up at different parts of the town, and a suitable number of schoolmistresses were procured and employed to learn such children to spin, free of charge, as the overseers shall from time to time certify are proper objects of such charity. That for this purpose a number of suitable rooms be hired and schoolmistresses procured and a number of spinning wheels and a quantity of wool purchased for the immediate employment of such children &c." This was voted, and five hundred pounds were raised and put into the hands of the overseers of the poor to carry out the project.

XXI

SCHOOL SESSIONS AND YEARS

In the early times the sessions were long and the vacations few, in fact the effort seems to have been to demand of teacher and pupils the hours of a day laborer. It was but gradually that more progressive views were taken. Undoubtedly the pupils absented themselves almost at will, or at their parents' will, while the teacher, if he kept faithfully the hours assigned him, must have many times gone through the form of teaching merely, if indeed he did so much. The older and more populous towns generally demanded shorter hours than the newer and less populous. In those places where the moving school was in vogue, although the schools were in continuous session, they were seldom held in one place long enough for a pupil to get the full benefit of them. In the larger places a pupil could attend the central school all the year round. The moving school put education within the reach of some and removed it from others; the length of time the draught was offered depended on the amount paid by the neighborhood in which he lived. It was out of this that the school taxation by parishes and districts grew.

Among the earliest detailed set of rules is that of Dorchester in 1645, which states: "That from the beginning of the first month until the end of the seventh, he shall every day begin to teach at 7 of the clock in the morning and dismiss his scholars at 5 in the afternoon; and for the other five months, that is, from the beginning of the eighth month until the end of the twelfth month, it shall every day begin at 8 of the clock in the morning and end at 4 of the clock in the afternoon. . . . Every day in the year the usual

time for dismissing at noon shall be at 11 and to begin again at 1, except that every second day in the week he shall call his scholars together between 12 and 1 of the clock to examine what they have learned on the Sabbath day preceding, at which time also he shall take notice of any misdemeanors or disorders that any of his scholars shall have committed on the Sabbath," etc.

The distinction between summer and winter occurs continually, due to the lack of any method of artificial lighting, the difficulty of heating the schoolroom, and also doubtless to the slowness of travel in winter. Watertown, in 1677, made a very marked difference, for in a contract with a master for an English school is this: "The selectmen agree also that the said school shall be kept from the first of May to the last of August 8 hours a day, to wit, to begin at 7 in the morning and not to break up until 5 at night, noon time excepted, and from the last of August until the last of October, 6 hours in the day, so also in the months of March and April, and the four winter months to begin at 10 of the clock in the morning and continue until 2 of the clock in the afternoon." Years later, in 1704, the schoolmaster "agreed to keep school half a year, seven hours a day," and a year later he was engaged to teach "first quarter, seven hours; second quarter, eight hours."

At New Haven the rules were more exacting. In 1684 "the grammar school was to be kept nine hours a day in summer, less in winter, and six days in the week." More definitely the third rule states "that the master and scholars duly attend the school hours, viz., from six in the morning to eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and from one o'clock in the afternoon to five o'clock in the afternoon in summer and four in winter." Forty years later they relaxed a little, for in 1729 it was "agreed with Theophilus Munson for his son, Daniel Munson, to keep the grammar school for one year, to begin the 22nd of November, and to keep about

seven hours in the day in the winter season, and about eight hours in the summer season in each day, and not to exceed twelve play days in the year."

At Salem, in 1700, the school bell was to be rung at 7 A.M. and 5 P.M. from March 1 to November 1, and at 8 A.M. and 4 P.M. from November 1 to March 1, and "the school to begin and end accordingly," while at Boston, in 1719, among the directions given masters was this, "That the *accustomary* school hours be duly attended."

The moving school automatically furnished the pupils with vacations, often very long ones. At Windsor, Connecticut, in 1674, a schoolmaster was engaged to keep school "five months south and seven months north of the rivulet." Five years later another man was engaged to keep six months on each side of the rivulet. At Malden, in 1711, a schoolmaster was engaged for six months. The school was to be "kept the first four months in Mr. Parsons' house, and then the school shall be removed into some house towards the north end of the town the other two months." At Boxford, in 1725, the schools were held in private houses, so that children got about one month's schooling in the year.

The teacher was not always forgotten, however, as is shown by the action of Sudbury, in 1703, which "voted and agreed as a free will to give unto Mr. Picher two days in every quarter of his year to visit his friends if he see cause to take up with it."

Terms frequently varied according to conditions. In 1727 Brookline had two schools, a master in each for four months, and a school dame in each for eight months. In 1729 it was voted that there should be a mistress in each school four months, but there is nothing said about a master. The next year it was voted to have school ten months, five kept by a master and five by a mistress. But in 1732 the schoolmaster was kept only four months, and it was voted not to have any mistress that year.

Here are some examples of the moving school. Spencer, in 1731, voted "to provide a schoolmaster to read and write, to be kept three months in three parts of the town." At Lunenburg, in 1739, a "lawful schoolmaster" was engaged for three months, six weeks in one house and six weeks in another. An extreme case was Gloucester, which in 1734 had seven districts, the school being so arranged that it took three years to make the circuit. If a district did not furnish a suitable place for the school, it lost the school for the three years.

An effort to please everybody is seen at Swanzey, New Hampshire, which in 1774 was divided into six districts, "but the school in each district shall be free for any persons in the town to send their children to, at any time."

The change from the moving to the district school is seen clearly at Dudley, Massachusetts. In 1743 school was kept nine months, three in the center of the town and three at each end. The school at the center was kept by a man, the others by women. In 1745 the town was divided into three districts, each of which was allowed its part of the school money. Committees were appointed for each district. Another example of the change is Westminster, which in 1777 "voted to keep school ten weeks in each schoolhouse the ensuing year and voted that the schools be kept all at once, or as soon as masters can be procured." The next year it was voted "that five schools be set a-going at once."

The rules adopted at Haverhill, in 1790, were elaborate. "From May 1st to September 1st the schools should commence at 8 A.M. and 2 P.M. and close at 12 M. and 6 P.M. and from September to May should begin at 9 A.M. and $1\frac{1}{2}$ P.M. and close at 12 M. and $4\frac{1}{2}$ P.M." "There should be no school kept on the afternoon of Saturdays and Lecture Days, nor on the day of the annual town meeting in March, the annual election day, the Fourth of July, and Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Commencement Week at

Cambridge." The problem of female education arose at the same time and Haverhill also voted "that May to September one hour in the forenoon and the same in the afternoon be especially appropriated for the instruction of the young misses or females, that of consequence the common school be dismissed daily for such a period at 11 o'clock in the forenoon and a like hour in the afternoon to give time for that purpose."

At Charlestown, a year later, in 1791, the hours of instruction for females six months in the year, from May to October inclusive, were fixed at "from 11 to 1 o'clock and from 4 to 6," apparently the waste hours of the boys.

At Hingham, in 1791, the session began to approach modern ideas, for "the masters were to keep three hours in the forenoon, and three in the afternoon each day in the week, except Saturday in the afternoon."

Strict in theory but with a comfortable allowance for human frailties was the rule at Norwich, in 1782, in a school to which a fund had been left. "The school to be kept eleven months in each year and eight hours in each day from the 20th of March to the 20th of September, and from the 21st of September to the 20th of March, six hours in each day, that is to say, as nearly that space of time in each day as may reasonably be expected." Another easy-going place was Torrington, Connecticut, where in 1790 "the pupils were not punctual in attendance at nine o'clock or any fixed time. As soon as a few had arrived in the morning, the teacher began the exercises of reading, which was a large part of the school exercises, using the Bible in a large number of cases as the reading book."

The gradual increase in vacations and holidays is shown by the following:

At Roxbury, in 1789, "the school hours required were, on the average, seven and a half per day through the year. . . . As to vacations there were but two in a year, one of six

days at Commencement time, the other of two at Thanksgiving. The holidays, including those of the public lectures of the First Parish, were in proportion, amounting in all to about five days in addition to Saturday afternoons."

At Hingham, in 1791, masters were "allowed one day at annual March meeting, one half day at the Derby lecture, one half day at annual April meeting, election day, two days for training and four days more at their election."

At New Haven, in 1796, the committee hired a grammar schoolmaster, and agreed "that said master have one week vacation at Commencement, also one week on the annual election in May. Said master is not to indulge the scholars with liberty of playing on Wednesday in the afternoon."

A brave attempt to hold the masters to their duty, though the phraseology is hardly clear, is shown at Weymouth in 1810, when the "employment of Latin and Greek masters was authorized and also English masters who shall teach equivalent to twelve months in the year."

The rules at Salem fifty years apart show an interesting though rather slight contrast. The first statement reads: "Term time in the good old days was all the year round, or nearly so. The vacations prescribed in 1770 were as follows; general election, Commencement Day and the rest of that week, fasts, Thanksgivings, trainings, and Wednesday and Saturday afternoons," while in 1818 the vacations were "one week at election, another at Commencement, and a third at Thanksgiving, a day at regimental muster, one at Christmas, and another on Independence Day, besides the customary Wednesday and Saturday afternoons."

These long hours and unbroken years were not peculiar to New England, but a direct heritage from the mother country. Thus we read that John Harvard in winter went to school from seven to eleven and from one to five, and in the summer from six to eleven and from one to six.

XXII

DISCIPLINE

Early discipline was rigid, not to say barbarous, in the extreme. This was in direct continuation of English traditions, and the Puritan spirit did not tend to soften it. George G. Channing, writing of life in Newport, Rhode Island, in the years 1793 to 1811, has a passage in his recollections which well describes the ideals and methods. "During my nonage the Puritan spirit did not die out. It was an age of force. Punishment was deemed necessary. Exhibitions of authority constituted day by day a series of domestic tableaux. The discipline of the school was in accordance with the government of the home. It was arbitrary, with rare exceptions, in the extreme. Children were required to bow and kiss the hand when entering or leaving either home or school. The school to which I was sent differed in no respect from inferior ones in the matter of corporal punishment. The ferule and cowskin were almost deified. Apologies increased rather than abated the swellings of the hand and the wales upon the back. An appeal to parents was of no more avail than beating the air."

If such was the case after the Revolution, we must be prepared for even greater severity a century and a half before. Thus, among the rules of Harvard College in 1660 was this: "It is hereby ordered that the president and fellows of Harvard College have the power to punish all misdeeds of the young men in their college. They are to use their best judgment, and punish by fines or whipping in the hall publicly, as the nature of the offense shall call for." How this was carried out is shown by a passage in the diary of Samuel Sewall, giving an account of the discipline of one

Thomas Sargent, a college student, in June, 1674: "1. That being convicted of speaking blasphemous words concerning the Holy Ghost, he should be therefore publicly whipped before all the scholars. 2. That he should be suspended as to taking his degree of Bachelor. 3. Sit alone by himself in the hall uncovered at meals, during the pleasure of the President and fellows, and be in all things obedient, doing what exercise was appointed him by the President, or else be finally expelled the college. The first was presently put in execution in the library, (Mr. Danforth, Jr. being present) before the scholars. He kneeled down and the instrument, Goodman Hely, attended the President's word as to the performance of his part of the work. Prayer was had before and after by the President."

Earlier still, conditions were even worse, for in Palfrey's "History of New England," in a passage concerning Harvard College, is the statement: "Nathaniel Eaton, the first person placed at its head, was soon deposed, having been convicted of ill-treating the students by giving them twenty or thirty stripes at a time and keeping them on scanty and unwholesome food; of beating his subordinate, Nathaniel Briscoe, in an inhuman manner; and of other misdemeanors."

Still another reference to the early days of the college is the following (quoted from Winthrop), dated at Newbury in 1644: "Two of our ministers' sons, being students in the college, robbed two dwelling houses in the night of some £15. Being found out they were ordered by the governors of the college to be there whipped, which was performed by the president himself."

In fact, the situation is summed up in Adams's "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History": "Both at home and in school the rod, — 'the rawhide,' — was freely used; nor did either sex or age afford any immunity from corporal punishment which would now excite indignation if inflicted on dogs."

We have a glimpse of the discipline of the famous Ezekiel Cheever, in his earlier days, in the following passage from Blake's "Chronicles of New Haven Green." According to one boy, "when they saw him begin to stroke his pointed beard they all got ready to stand from under. . . . It was Mr. Cheever's practise whenever a boy made a bad recitation to flog another boy for not exercising a better influence over the delinquent; and one chronic victim of these vicarious inflictions, in order to escape them, was compelled to thrash a lazy comrade so that he never came to school any more."

The above refers to the Reverend John Barnard, who tells the story in his Autobiography. In his eighth year he went to Mr. Cheever's school. He was so full of play that at length Mr. Cheever "openly declared 'you, Barnard, I know you can do well enough if you will, but you are so full of play that you hinder your classmates from getting their lessons; and therefore if any of them cannot perform their duty, I shall correct you for it.' One unlucky day one of my classmates did not look into his book and therefore could not say his lessons, though I called upon him once and again to mind his book; upon which our master beat me. . . . The boy was pleased with my being corrected and persisted in his neglect, for which I was still corrected and that for several days. In justice I thought I ought to correct the boy and compel him to a better temper; and therefore after school was done I went up to him and told him I had been beaten several times for his neglect; and since Master would not correct him, I would, and I should do so as often as I was corrected for him; and then I drubbed him heartily. The boy never came to school any more and so that unhappy affair ended."

The following incidents at Boston are typical. Then, as now, the schools were expected, in the popular mind, to control the children out of school as well as in. Thus in 1757, "whereas complaint has been made to the selectmen that

the children behave very unmannerly and indecently in the streets and use bad language, voted, that the masters of the respective schools in the town be desired to reprove said children for such misdemeanors."

In those days, likewise, some parents objected to their children's being punished, for in 1770 "Mr. Thomas Parker entered a complaint against Mr. Samuel Holbrook, master of the South Writing School, for giving his son, as he says, an unreasonable correction."

A more serious case is thus detailed. It happened in 1780. "The selectmen being informed that three children of one Mr. Clark at Mr. Hunt's school, having behaved improperly, were corrected by the usher, and that the father of the children had so resented it as to strike the said usher in the school, Mr. Nozro was directed to notify the said Mr. Clark and Mr. Croswell to attend the next Monday the selectmen, and that in the mean time the several masters of the town schools be directed not to receive them." They attended, "according to the requirement of the selectmen, and were both heard relative to the complaint brought by the usher against Mr. Clark for entering said school and grossly insulting him before the scholars, by striking him, and it appearing that the complaint was well founded and that Mr. Clark's behavior had a direct tendency to destroy the influence of his usher and the good order and government of the schools, it was determined by the selectmen that no children of the said Clark shall have the privilege of an education in any of the public schools of the town, unless their said father shall go into Mr. Hunt's school and there make his acknowledgment to Mr. Croswell, in the presence of the scholars, of his imprudent behavior; and that this being done the children of the said Clark shall be again admitted on the same footing of other scholars."

Again, in 1785, a parent's complaint was thus handled: "On complaint of Mr. Joseph Eaton that one of his sons

had received unsuitable correction from Mr. Carter of the writing school in Queen St., the parties were sent for and after due enquiry it appeared that there was not sufficient ground for said complaint. Mr. Eaton was then reminded of the mischief which must follow from any weakening of the government of the public schools, and Mr. Carter was directed to continue his best endeavors to maintain that order which has so much contributed to the present reputation of his school."

The triumph of law and order under this policy is shown by a letter from Caleb Bingham, usher in the North Writing School in Boston in 1792: "I know you will participate in my joy, when I inform you that I have gained a complete victory over my schoolboys. They are now nearly as still in the school as the girls. I was obliged to relinquish my method of detaining them after school on account of Mr. C's conduct. I resolved then to bring the matter to a crisis, and know whether I was master or not. I laid aside all books for the day and spent it in preaching. The next day I undertook to find what virtue there was in the old maple whig of seventy-six [a ferule used for many years]. I belabored them from day to day till they finally gave me the victory. Now and then an old woman and a few who are not worthy the name of men, and who oppose the doctrines of our forefathers, have murmured and complained to the committee. But the boys are silent in school and that is the main object with us; and I hope we shall be able to silence their parents. A certain Mr. Adams whom we used to hear from last winter came into the school this day with a complaint against the usher, and told us that he would not allow of his boys' receiving corporal punishment on any occasion whatever. We shall therefore expel them for the next offense."

Every town and every district has its traditions of early schoolmasters — many of them vague and without date, many

of them, doubtless, grossly exaggerated. Thus in Brookline, in early times: "Of Isaac Adams who taught here for twenty years many strange tales survive. His methods of punishment are contrasted with his devotion to his young wife and his half frantic grief long after her death. He spanked the unruly boy with a leather strap or made him stand before the class with his nose wedged into the split end of a sapling. In times of great disorder he would pile the boys in a pyramid on the floor and spank the unlucky one on the top. For the girls he had a unipod or one-legged stool, on which a wrong doer must balance herself for an hour or more."

At Danvers "Mr. Caleb Clark was a teacher of some repute for those days, although he was not considered a great disciplinarian. He was in the habit of whittling a shingle in school, and for small offenses compelling the disobedient to pile the whittlings in the middle of the room; when this was accomplished, he would kick them over, to be picked up again. He would sometimes require them to watch a wire suspended in the room, and inform him when a fly alighted on it. For greater offenses he would sometimes attempt to frighten them into obedience by putting his shoulder under the mantel-piece and threatening to throw the house down upon them. It is said of this worthy pedagogue when deeply engaged in a mathematical problem, that he became so absorbed in the work as to be wholly unconscious of anything transpiring around him, and the boys, taking advantage of this habit, would creep out of school and skate and slide by the hour together."

A peculiar form of punishment was employed at Sutton, New Hampshire, by a certain Master Hogg, one of the earliest schoolmasters. "A favorite form of discipline with him was what he termed 'horsing' the offenders, the process being as follows; as fast as transgressions occurred during the school hours, he would call out the transgressors and keep them standing in the floor till he had the good fortune to

secure three, the requisite number, and then the circus began. The first offender was made to get down on all fours, the second must mount his back and the third must whip them around the room: then they changed position till each boy had his turn at whipping once and being whipped twice."

More brutal still was the method employed at Boscawen, New Hampshire, in 1797, by a schoolmaster called Master Thurston. "He was a severe disciplinarian. One of his instruments for maintaining discipline was a leather ferule, composed of two pieces of hammered sole leather, with sheet lead stitched between them. On one side he punched four holes, on the other five. He usually asked a culprit which he would have, four holes or five. If the trembling urchin said four, Master Thurston usually gave this reply, 'For fear of making a mistake I will give you both.' Each stroke left an array of blisters the size of the holes on the aching palms."

At Windham, New Hampshire, in 1766, "Mr. Nicholas Sauce, a British soldier, discharged at the close of the old French war, in 1760, was employed as a teacher for four years in district no. 1. He had been used to severe discipline in the British army and was a cruel teacher. The children trembled when he entered the room. He whipped so unmercifully that some of the scholars wore a hard cloth or hide next their skin, to shield themselves."

Two pedagogues at Bath, Maine, deserve to be mentioned in this unenviable connection. An early teacher was "Mr. Patch, who was lame, went on crutches, and was also humpbacked. He had a unique method of punishing the scholars that partook of barbarism. He had a wooden shoe made with sharp pegs at the bottom, and in this he compelled obdurate boys to stand on one foot." Another teacher was a Mr. Weston, whose "favorite discipline was to scare his unruly scholars into obedience to good order. He would throw his heavy ruler, which was the emblem of authority in those days, with all his force, over the boys' heads, to the

wall at the back end of the room, making a great commotion. At times he would in like manner throw an inkstand. He was said to be an awful thrasher of the unruly boys of his school." Still later, in 1820, a Mr. Page kept the school in the same town. "His custom was to open school with prayers, during which the scholars took advantage to become noisy, whereupon he would open his eyes, and, looking around the room, seize his great ruler of green rawhide and go through the entire school, striking the pupils over the head, thrashing their body and limbs, until order was restored, when he would return to his desk and finish his prayer."

Similar but apparently less vigorous measures were used on like occasions at Springfield, about 1790. "The first thing every morning was Bible reading, each scholar old enough reading a verse. It occasionally happened that some disturbance would compel the suspending of the Bible exercises. After the rod was put away again the reading would be resumed."

A touch of rough humor is to be seen in this description of punishments at Weare, New Hampshire, in the late 1700's. "Much of the time in these old grammar schools was devoted to discipline, and the masters in those days were not stingy in the use of the rod and ferule. Some of the teachers spent nearly one half of their time in this exercise, and blistered hands, swollen ears, and smarting limbs were very common. Milder punishments were 'sitting on nothing,' or on the top end of an old-fashioned elm bark seat chair turned down; standing in a corner face to the wall; stooping down to hold a nail or peg in the floor, the culprit often getting a smart slap on his rear to keep him from bending his knees; and being compelled to sit among the girls, which in time came to be denominated *capital* punishment."

Here is an account of conditions at Yarmouth, Massachusetts, about 1770, by Deacon Hawes. "The usual discipline for crime or disobedience was whipping with an apple

tree branch, with the scholar's jacket off, while one part of the school would be nearly in tears and the other part laughing; and as soon as the master retired from school, every instrument of correction or torture would by the scholars be destroyed." Later, when the deacon became a schoolmaster, this was one of his methods: "When school was about half done, one scholar was sent for a bucket of water. The females were allowed to go out all at one time, but not drink till they came in, which would be in about five minutes. Then the males went out and were allowed to drink when they came in. Then the water was emptied out of the pail, and if any scholar went out more than one time, they had to stay in and sweep out the schoolhouse after school was done."

A struggle at New Haven in 1797, in the grammar school, is thus described: "Dr. James Murdock told me that he spent one third of his time the first quarter in trying to persuade the boys to behave with propriety without success, when he applied the rod vigorously for a while and then let matters slide. Prof. Kingsley informed that Pres. Dwight cautioned him against taking the school, for it was so hard that it would probably injure his reputation. This was in 1799. A member of the class of 1815 told me that a boy whom he attempted to chastise the first day of his service ran out of the house and that he chased him home and punished him in his father's yard. Dr. Azel Backus of the class of 1787, having charge of the school a few days in behalf of a friend, attempted to chastise a disorderly boy, but found the whole school in motion to assault him. Retiring to a corner of the room, as the assailants approached, that able and distinguished polemic encountered and defeated the entire force."

A milder punishment, suitable for the young children in the dame schools, is described by Henry K. Oliver of Salem, who says his general uneasiness often entitled him

to "Madam T's customary punishment of sundry smart taps on the head with the middle finger of her right hand; said finger being armed for its defense with a large and rough steel thimble."

Solitary confinement was common; thus, in the description of a schoolhouse at Reading, in 1785, mention is made of a "dark hole against the chimney to put bad boys in," and in the description of another, at Peterborough, New Hampshire, is the statement that on one side of the chimney was a small room "used as a dungeon for punishment."

The small size of the early schoolhouses is seen from an account of the one at Chester, New Hampshire, in 1763, where the master had a seat and table in the center of the room, and "swayed a scepter in the form of a hickory switch, long enough to reach every scholar in the house." At Temple, New Hampshire, in 1782, one master "used a tattling stick and a peaked block for correction." In the Upneck district, a part of Hartford, about 1825, "for punishments the hard wood ferule and the apple tree switch were commonly and freely used. Boys were also placed with the girls for punishment."

Francestown, New Hampshire, contributes this of its first two men teachers, about 1790: "So far as flogging was concerned they discharged their duties faithfully and impartially and to the letter."

The "Recollections" of Samuel Breck show a method of avoiding punishment that would find short shrift in these days. "The Latin school in my day was kept by Mr. Hunt. He was a severe master and flogged heartily. I went on very well with him, mollifying his stern temper by occasional presents in money which my indulgent father sent to him by me. Thus my short career at his school (17 or 18 months) passed without any corporal correction. I was even sometimes selected for the honorable office of sawing and piling his wood."

Edward Everett describes a punishment that is probably unique. Speaking of the schools he attended at Boston, 1800–1804, and referring to Master Tilotson, he says: "The fingers of his right hand had been contracted and stiffened in early life by a burn, but were fixed in just the position to hold a pen, penknife, and rattan. As they were also considerably indurated, they served as a convenient instrument of discipline. A copy badly written, or a blotted page, was sometimes visited with an infliction which would have done no discredit to the beak of a bald eagle."

The general methods and spirit of this kind of discipline are well described by the Reverend Warren Burton in "The District School as It Was." "Half the time was spent in calling up scholars for little misdemeanors, trying to make them confess their faults and promise stricter obedience, or in devising punishments and inflicting them. Almost every method was tried that was ever suggested to the brain of pedagogue. Some were feruled on the hand, some were whipped with a rod on the back, some were compelled to hold out at arm's length the largest book which could be found, or a great leaden inkstand till muscle and nerve, bone and marrow, were tortured with the continual exertion. If the arm bent or inclined from the horizontal level, it was forced back again by a knock of the ruler on the elbow. I well recollect that one poor fellow forgot his suffering by fainting quite away. This lingering punishment was more befitting the vengeance of a savage than the corrective efforts of a teacher of the young in civilized life.

"The teacher had recourse to another method, almost, perhaps quite, as barbarous. It was standing in a stooping posture with the finger on the head of a nail in the floor. It was a position not particularly favorable to health of body or soundness of mind; the head being brought about as low as the knees, the blood rushing to it and pressing unnaturally on the veins, often caused a dull pain and a staggering dizziness. . . .

The above punishments were sometimes rendered doubly painful by their taking place directly in front of the enormous fire, so that the pitiable culprit was roasted as well as racked. Another mode of punishment—an antiwhispering process—was setting the jaws at a painful distance apart by inserting a chip perpendicularly between the teeth. Then we occasionally had our hair pulled, our noses tweaked, our ears pinched and boxed, or snapped perhaps with India-rubber; this last the perfection of ear-tingling operations. There were minor penalties, moreover, for minor faults. The uneasy urchins were clapped into the closet, thrust under the desk, or perched on its top. Boys were made to sit in the girls' seats, amusing the school with their grinning awkwardness, and the girls were obliged to sit on the masculine side of the aisle, with crimsoned necks and faces buried in their aprons."

This brief survey of the methods and spirit of the early schools can only make us the more grateful for the vast change that has taken place in educational requirements, textbooks, discipline, and ideals since the "good old times." The picture that we must draw of most of these temples of learning is unflattering in the extreme.

The first schoolhouse was the meetinghouse or a dwelling house. Then came the regular schoolhouse, a bleak carpenter's box, heated by fireplaces or not heated at all till after 1800, with no light, with no desks for the smaller pupils, with few books, no blackboards, globes, or maps, no lead pencils, and in some places no paper, but only birch bark. The smaller boys were seated on a bench with no back, their feet off the floor, swinging to and fro. There was nothing to occupy their attention but the master's scowl or some crawling flies. Weary, deadened, stupefied by inaction, they sat there day in and day out, called up at long intervals to drawl out a few words or sentences from the Psalter or New Testament. The larger boys sat facing the blank wall, with the Bible or sum book, some homemade

ink and schoolmade quill pens, working day after day on a sum or two, dawdling the long day through. It is wonderful how they could spend so much time doing nothing. A good day's work, with the school hours from seven to eleven and one to five in summer, and somewhat less in winter, was half a page of writing and two or three sums, with one reading lesson. No wonder that Satan found mischief for idle hands, and that the discipline of these schools was harsh and cruel. The spirit of the age was stern and forbidding. The severity which took the week-old babe to the baptismal font in which the ice must be broken to reach the water carried him to day school at two years and a half with his hornbook. The spirit of repression found in the home and church must be found in the school.

Out of all this, what? The survival of the fittest, a sturdy, self-contained, self-reliant people — poor readers, poor spellers, but generally good writers, with no knowledge of geography or history or grammar, with little knowledge of arithmetic, but sturdy of character — the genuine old New Englander whom we delight to honor.

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Among the authorities of the first-mentioned class may be named the Boston Town Records and Selectmen's Minutes, and the Dorchester Town Records, both published by the Boston Record Commissioners; the State and Provincial Papers of New Hampshire, published by authority of the New Hampshire legislature; the Rhode Island Colonial Records; and the Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven. The official records of many of the separate towns were also consulted.

Among those of the second type may be named the publications of the Vermont Historical Society, of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the Connecticut Historical Society, and also the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

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